

News

from behind the

IRON CURTAIN

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FEATURES

- As They See Us:
Political and Economic
- As They See Us:
Social and Cultural
- As They See Themselves

• Winds of Freedom
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News from behind the IRON CURTAIN

August 1955 — Vol. 4 — No. 8

Free Europe Committee, Inc.

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The Month in Review



IN PREPARATION for the meeting at the summit, the Soviet bloc pushed further along its current path of external relaxation and internal hardening. In a number of specific incidents, as well as in the general tone of its foreign relations, the USSR demonstrated its intention to go to Geneva with the face, and perhaps the real design, of tractability.

Such incidents as the Hungarian regime's parole of Cardinal Mindszenty, the Soviet offer to pay half the damages of the American Air Force plane shot down off Alaska, the agreement to pay indemnity to the widow of a Belgian flyer killed in the 1954 shooting down of a Belgian airliner, the determined bonhomie demonstrated by top Soviet leaders in attending various quasi-social functions, the increase in exchanges of traveling groups and delegations, the notable restraint with which Bulgaria reacted to the alleged firing on border guards by Turkish soldiers—these and other manifestations of current policy are the stuff of normal international relations, but in the context of the last ten years they are strikingly novel. Whether this new face projects an actual determination to begin a new era, to push away the specter of H-bomb war, or is a propaganda maneuver to split the Western alliance and, by winning world moral approval, prepare the ground for further expansions, is not yet clear.

On one point the Soviets have so far shown no tractability whatever. They have reiterated, for internal as well as external consumption, that the future of the captive nations is not and cannot be a subject of bargaining with the West, that Satellite affairs are of internal concern only. The sudden spate of trials of "American spies" is thus probably an attempt to counteract Western questions about the future status of these countries with charges of foreign interference and a stream of allegations of espionage and meddling, so that the Satellite question will be drowned in mutual recriminations. First reports from Geneva also indicate that the Soviets do not intend to follow the sudden swift settlement of the Austrian problem with a similar abandonment of other areas in their European Empire.

There have also been signs of Soviet activity in the reinforcement of present boundaries. Poland has increased its efforts to solidify the settlement of the Western territories, giving land title deeds to numbers of independent peasants in the area. Also, the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the boundary settlement with East Germany was used to reaffirm that boundary in a mutual statement from the two regimes.

The internal hardening continued to center in agriculture. Czechoslovakia has now followed Hungary in calling for "predominance" of collectivized over independent agriculture by 1960. There has also been, as in Hungary, a change in tone with respect to methods to be used in attaining this goal. Although the "principle of voluntariness" is still mentioned, major emphasis is now given to increased propaganda and administrative pressures designed to overcome the admitted "stagnation" in kolkhoz growth.

In Hungary, new decrees implemented the stricter agricultural policy called for in the June 8 Central Committee Resolution. The most important of these imposes restrictions on free market sales of grain, creating a system of obligatory bulk sales of grain to the State over and above compulsory quotas. These compulsory State contracts are on approximately free market price levels, and their purpose is not to create State revenue but to solve the serious problem of collection. A clause in the new decree creates collective village responsibility: until all farmers in a village deliver their compulsory quota and compulsory bulk purchase grain, no farmer in that village may sell grain on the free market. This transition from stress on collective leadership to stress on collective guilt is strongly indicative of the current Hungarian shift in emphasis.

That present Hungarian agricultural policy is by no means, however, a headlong retreat to the days of Stalinist repression was neatly illustrated by two further decrees, issued simultaneously. One of these provides for fines for persons who violate harvesting and threshing regulations. The other provides for premiums and tax alleviations to encourage livestock breeding. After the decline in agricultural production under Stalinist methods, and after the decline in collection under the Nagy-period liberalizations, the regime is now attempting a combination of carrot and stick to solve the dual agricultural problem.

There were further hardenings of internal Hungarian policy in other fields. Among these was a change in the legal code abolishing misdemeanors as a category and raising a number of violations, such as begging, "shirking work in a manner dangerous to the public" and prostitution to the status of crimes, with consequently heavier penalties.

The attacks on "right wing deviation" in the Nagy period and reiteration of the leading role of the Party continue. These enjoinders were particularly marked at the congress of the regime's youth organization where alleged "right wing" attempts to alienate the organization from the Party were denounced. Youth was called upon to uphold the March Resolution, and the importance of agriculture and collectivization were stressed.

Other events in the area included two political show trials in Poland. These were apparently part of a campaign to clean up long-pending cases from the period of the Gomulka purge.



Budinski 1954

Title: Their Worries

Caption: Chief of US Civil Defense Val Petersen said that "there won't be any more great cities" and he worried about "how on earth one would bury nine million bodies all at once." Petersen is shown holding plan for cemetery.

Szpilki (Warsaw), October 17, 1954

As They See Us

"If relations between our two countries are to improve, the public must receive impartial, objective information about the other country. In this, the press has a particular responsibility."

Pravda (Moscow), December 8, 1954

THE SOVIET and the Western worlds are engaged not merely in a contest for military or political supremacy, but in what has been aptly termed a competition of civilizations. The United States and the USSR, the two principal contenders, face each other across wide separations in history, national temper and in economic and social ideology. It should not be surprising, therefore, that they harbor a certain number of honest misconceptions about each other. But there is a fundamental difference in how these apposite images are formed and used.

In the West, opinions of the Soviet orbit vary widely in tone, content and intent, for public opinion is shaped by a variety of competing and conflicting sources—official, semi-official and private. Of course public opinion exists in the Soviet orbit too, but it is never openly expressed. All media of communication are State-owned and as such are organs of State policy. Since regime views cannot be publicly challenged, they need not be based on fact or even on reasonable evidence. Moreover, since many of the normal methods of carrying information from country to country are carefully Iron-Curtained by the Communists—trade, travel, mail, etc.—their governments remain relatively free to create a picture of the West out of whole cloth.

The image of the United States which the Communists have attempted to conjure up in the minds of their people is the combined result of ignorance, misunderstanding and deliberate distortion. Perhaps the most glaring misconception is contained in their picture of contemporary American society as if it were organized precisely in terms of Marx's critique of 19th century England and Germany. This anachronistic view of capitalism is spelled out in doctrinal clichés representing the US as rent by class warfare and perpetual economic maelstrom.

Perhaps the most striking psychological mechanism in their propaganda is the "projection" technique whereby the Communists see our institutions and mentality in terms of their own. Our communication network becomes only a medium of indoctrination like their own; our government

leaders a ruling oligarchy; our social structure feudal, our workers semi-serfs. The American Negro is equated with the oppressed Soviet minorities; the American FBI is equated with the MVD; and the whole of their monolithic, totalitarian and authoritarian structure is identified with our own diversified, democratic society of countervailing forces. And finally (and in some senses a final comment on themselves) in attacking us, they always separate the people from the "ruling classes," attacking the latter and praising the former.

This projection is doubtless chiefly intentional—designed to conceal from their captive peoples that life in the West is better than or different from their own—but some of it is probably unconscious as well. There is no real understanding of the democratic process, of political parties competing but loyal, of specifically American traditions, history or institutions. They are further warped by a view of the "nature of man"—but only capitalist man—as without altruism, patriotism or humanity, filled only with the lust for profit, and the sense of dog eat dog.

Their propaganda invariably examines our faults microscopically, and generally ignores our virtues and achievements. One of the most characteristic things they do is use honest criticism of specific or special shortcomings in the United States (often written by Americans or friendly foreigners) as, by extension, a criticism of the *culture in its entirety*, so that the isolated phenomenon is made the common occurrence.

The present article attempts to examine Communist propaganda and to show how, at the very time their foreign policy pronouncements are about "peaceful coexistence", the Communist leaders attempt to arouse in their subjugated peoples a warped image of and a blind hatred for the United States and the entire free world.

I. The American System: Economic and Political Conditions

The Communist view of the US economic structure derives from the theories of Marx and Lenin on the permanent "crisis" of capitalism and its inevitable, historically-determined collapse. The economic upsurge of America after the war, failure of the Communist-predicted postwar depression to materialize, and the continuing national prosperity are wholly attributed to the "fact" that the US economy is a "war economy," deliberately propped up by government armament spending. In analyzing the US government budgets of recent years, the Communists constantly stressed that "the major portion of the budget is earmarked for military expenditures" at the expense of public health, education and social welfare allocations. On January 12, 1955, Radio Moscow broadcast this analysis of "The Economy of the United States in 1954":

"In painting the picture of economic development in the US during the past year, official US representatives and the press try to present it as a brilliant one. But no objective observer can fail to notice that the excessive optimism of American propaganda rests upon two illusions: first, it affirms that 1954 brought equal prosperity both to the financial magnates of Wall Street and the ordinary people in factories and farms; second, the American propagandists try to prove that in 1954, militarization again acted as a reliable cure for all the ills of the American economy. . . ."

The report then quoted figures from the American press on unemployment, falling wage scales, the "enormous burden of taxes on the shoulders of the working people," reduction in number of orders and capital investment, and the alleged decline in consumer demand and purchasing power. "In other words," the broadcast declared, "the contradiction between the output which became swollen during the years of the war boom and the steadily-falling civilian consumption becomes more and more acute. While official optimists make cheerful speeches, notes of alarm are heard more and more frequently in business circles. . . ."

"Such are the facts. . . . They show that the militarization of the economy in the United States does not decrease, but on the contrary increases, the disproportion between production possibilities and the dwindling purchasing capacity of the population, which in the end is bound to lead to the development of an economic crisis. . . ."

Economic Crisis

In this sphere of economic theory, the Party line has very little "give." To this day, Communist propagandists expound the doctrine of inevitable capitalistic economic collapse, and to this end, they scour the US press for confirmatory evidence. Recession, particularly in the textile and automobile industries, inflation, and farm problems, are the current features of the US economy upon which this propaganda feeds itself. Every appearance of economic stabilization or advance merely masks inner decay; every positive remark about the state of the economy is a feint, designed to mislead the American public (and the Communist world). *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), October 25, 1954, wrote: "Despite all the irrefutable signs of an approaching crisis, a number of bourgeois economists in the US persist in talking of some kind of trend toward an upswing in the economy during 1954. They present the crisis as something temporary, which will pass away. . . ."

All special groups or economic blocs—farmers, consumers, even stockholders—are represented as the victims of policies dictated by the big trusts and monopolies, and the US government is constantly charged with complicity, irrespective of the party or people in power. Radio Kossuth (Budapest) stated on April 22, 1954, that "in the US, the power is entirely in the hands of the National Association of Manufacturers, which wields this power with the help of the State apparatus, which is completely dependent on the Manufacturers. . . . Upon the American factory owners'

demand, Congress has passed a great number of laws, supporting the interests of the monopolists." On October 21, 1954, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) wrote: "Eisenhower has distributed to the monopolists more national resources and money squeezed from the taxpayers than any other government in US history. . . . Instead of voting funds for the people's social needs, Congress cut the [already] small credits for education, health, etc."

In agriculture, farmers and consumers both are allegedly squeezed by wholesale companies in league with the government. Radio Moscow, January 21, 1955, broadcast this commentary to the Satellites:

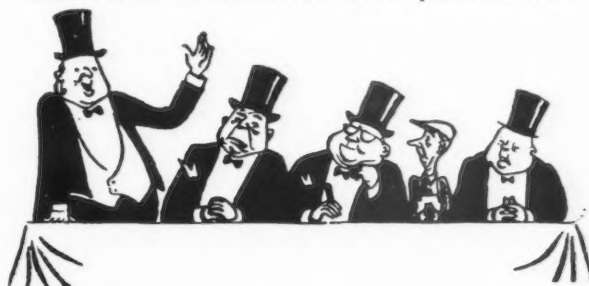
"American illustrated papers, mainly those destined for abroad, are full of pictures showing tractors and other agricultural machines on US farms. The paper 'People's Farmer' writes a lot about new fertilizers, new work techniques, and similar things. US propaganda seeks to prove by hook or by crook that farming in the United States is flourishing. But is this true? By no means! Even the US press sometimes publishes news items proving the difficult—even desperate—situation of the small and medium farmers. . . ."

"... For a number of years, the income of farmers has declined [mainly because of] the consistent fall in wholesale prices of agricultural products. . . . Retail prices of agricultural products have not gone down, but are going up. US consumers are paying higher prices than ever. . . ."

"Between farmers and the consumer there stands a whole army of middlemen: the wholesale companies which enrich themselves at the expense of the farmers. Their slogan is: 'Pay farmers as little as possible and sell at the highest possible price.' The farmers are helpless because they lack financial means, and the consumer is forced to restrict his demands because of the exorbitant retail prices. . . . The rise in the profits of these wholesale companies is due mainly to the Administration . . . which supports the companies in every way and helps them to enrich themselves at the expense of farmers and consumers."

Analyzing New York Stock Exchange activity, Radio Budapest, January 14, 1955, claimed that the sudden fluctuation in the stock market in January was "rigged" by large shareholders to squeeze out the small:

"... The small stockholders watched anxiously, reminded of the 1929 events when the collapse of the stock



Title: The honorary board of the American Trade Union Congress.

Caption: Rockefeller—"... what would happen to the world if we workmen and simple millionaires did not stick together. . . .?"

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), November 18, 1954

* The Soviet Home Service, whose programs are rebroadcast in full or in part by the Satellite radios to domestic listeners.

market ruined several million people. . . . The aim [of the drop] was obvious: to see that stocks went back again into the hands of the industrial magnates, and at a ridiculously low price. . . . Statistical data is not yet available but it is certain that the bursting of the artificial bubble meant the ruin of countless small people, the wiping out of small savings, and fatter bankrolls for the rich. . . . Apart from these manoeuvres, the two-day crash is also an ominous warning and a new sign of the unreliability and weakness not only of the New York Stock Exchange but of the entire US economy. . . ."

The ruthless self-seeking of the capitalists is limitless, and patriotism is but a camouflage: "Figures indicate that the national debt has shown a particularly sharp rise in war years. The spokesmen of the American capitalists try to create the impression that this is a demonstration of patriotism. The truth is that federal bonds are a very profitable form of investment for the capitalists, because they return immediate profits in the form of commissions for war production, special licenses, etc., while the interest on the bonds provides a guaranteed income for the future. . . . The alleged patriotic 'fervor' covers nothing more than cold business interests."

Corrupt Science and Research

Corruption of commercial research was the subject of an article in *Prace* (Prague), August 19, 1954, under the title "Two Types of Laboratories":

"Electric bulbs and tubes are manufactured in many countries all over the world—in the US, at the Western Electric companies, and here, at home, at the Tesla Works. These laboratories are almost identically equipped. But—what a difference! What a difference between what these sensitive machines and trained workers are serving—here and over there! The aim of the scientific workers at Tesla is clear: they want to prolong the life of electric bulbs from the present 1000 hours, to improve the light without changing power consumption, to improve the quality of the tubes—in short, to supply the domestic and foreign consumer with increasingly better products at the same prices.

"Is this also the aim of scientists at Western Electric?

"Far from it. The preying monopolists follow other goals: namely, maximum profits. Everything, scientific laboratories as well as scientists, must serve this one single goal. They do not intend to develop better and longer-lasting products; on the contrary, they intend to shorten the durability of bulbs. The shorter the bulb lasts, or the tube in a radio set, the more can be sold. This is the policy approved by the shareholders of Western Electric. And American science, instead of supplying the population with improved goods at lower cost, markets artificially adulterated bulbs and tubes."

The Communists further charge that American research institutes and universities are owned by and operated in the exclusive interests of big business. Radio Sofia, February 17, 1955, broadcast a talk on "Science under the Domination of Monopolies":

"In the imperialist world, science is directed by the

monopolists and dependent entirely on big business and militarist circles. . . . All large research centers and universities are under the influence and domination of capitalists: Harvard and Columbia are dependent upon Morgan, Chicago University on Rockefeller, Yale on both, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is ruled by Du Pont, and so forth.

"Under the guise of donations, the monopolists invest immense sums in university laboratories, thus evading taxation. By subordinating research work to their interests, they succeed in obtaining huge additional profits. The monopolists force scientists and research workers to work only on problems which can bring the highest profits. Research is directed mainly toward the production of arms; when this is temporarily relaxed, monopolists often assign scientists the task of seeking ways and means to increase profits by clandestinely debasing the quality of products. Thus, the automobile trusts are spending large amounts of money on research aimed at lowering the durability and efficiency of automobiles. . . ."

Thus the American economy is geared to the demands of, and dominated by, a clique of millionaires, while the poor stagger under an ever-growing burden of oppression, inflation, and chronic unemployment. This is both the essence and consequence of "the contradictions of capitalism" scheduled ultimately to bring about its downfall, according to the Marxist-Leninist lexicon. Poland's 1947 *Manual of Political Indoctrination* contains this passage: "The working conditions of American workers steadily grow worse; the standard of living of American workers has, in the past fifty years, declined by 30 percent. . . . If you compare this to the enormous income of the trusts and cartels you realize the real aspect of the so-called American paradise. . . ."

Current "manifestations" of this permanent "crisis" are closely followed. *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), October 21, 1954, wrote: "In the last two years, the economic condition of the US has deteriorated considerably. The cost of living is soaring, while at the same time warehouses are full. . . . Conditions are worst in the coal, automobile, shipbuilding and textile industries. This is naturally causing mounting dissatisfaction among the masses. . . ."

An article entitled "In the Dying Towns of the United States" appeared in the January 16, 1955, issue of *Pravda* (Moscow). This was an "account" of conditions in New England, describing widespread destitution as a result of unemployment, ominously pointing to a new major depression. The article stated, in part:

"When we asked at the travel bureau in Rockefeller Center for road maps of the New England states, we received a cold reception. The clerks were able to give us only a general map, which surprised us because New England is famous for its tourist centers, which usually have detailed maps. Our American travelling companion, explaining the behavior of the clerks, said that **New England is now almost closed to tourists**. It would not be to the advantage of certain people in the United States for foreign tourists, particularly foreign journalists, to see the **miserable conditions and impoverishment of the working people** in these states. As regards Soviet journalists, the authorities purposely caused difficulties, and



Title: The economic crisis in capitalist countries is getting worse every day.

Caption: "You're still young, sonny. In my days one could still find a bone once in a while."

Urzica (Bucharest), November 15, 1954

to overcome them took a great deal of our time and effort.

"Our travelling companion knew New England very well and he agreed to take us there without maps. . . . We visited the towns of Lawrence, Haverhill, Lowell, and some workers' settlements. We were surprised at the appearance of these towns. The streets were deserted and no smoke came from the chimneys of the textile and footwear factories. On the fences and gates of factories we saw large notices 'For sale' or 'For rent.' The same inscriptions covered the walls of houses in the settlements adjoining factories, as well as the walls of some shops and movie theaters. At some factories only one or two workshops were in operation. At the entrances of such factories we saw notices: 'Do not apply if you are over 40.'

"Shops situated in these districts had only vegetables, **no meat, butter or even margarine.** 'Shoppers cannot afford the luxury of buying meat or butter, and quite often they lack the money to buy potatoes or beans,' said one of the shopkeepers.

"What, then, has happened in these towns? This question was answered by textile and other workers who talked to us. Despite the persistent efforts of US propaganda, workers asked us eagerly about life in the USSR and told us about their own living conditions.

"One . . . spoke bitterly about present-day conditions in

Lawrence and Haverhill: 'Thousands of our comrades have lost their jobs and tens of thousands have gone to other cities in the hope of finding employment. **Those who remain are suffering and starving.**'

"He continued: 'Managers of various enterprises in New England, the press and Congressmen used to assure us that after business had been switched over to war production, unemployment would gradually disappear, wages would go up, and living conditions would improve. In actual fact, industrialists who received military contracts were relieved of tax burdens but the position of workers grew worse. Owners of these enterprises dismissed a certain number of the workers, sharply raised output quotas per man, and at the same time cut wages.'

"An old worker of Lawrence volunteered to show us around. Along the banks of the river which divides the town we saw silent and lifeless factory buildings. Referring to the gloomy picture he said: 'This reminds me of the 1930's.' At his invitation we visited his friend, an unemployed textile worker, whose wife told us that her husband had been away for three days, searching for any kind of work. He comes home worn out and hungry and there is little food to offer him in the house. She also said that her small children were always hungry and that they had nothing but potatoes and beans, as she could not afford to buy meat, even for Sundays. The worker added:

'There are thousands of people in our town who suffer the same privations.'

"In the center of town we saw a large group of people near a building. 'These are the unemployed,' said the worker, 'who hope to receive assistance. The town authorities have long since stopped issuing it, but the people still come here through force of habit because they have hungry families at home. Many of them have been out of work for more than a year. . . .'"

This somber description ended with the comment: "Thus, as we see in New England, the unemployed in the US have a very difficult life, while the life of employed workers is not much better."

American labor is always depicted in a state of turmoil and unrest, on the edge of open revolt against their "masters." For documentation, the Communists do not rely on the US press, but produce "first-hand" accounts, often letters allegedly received from the United States. Under the heading "Evidence by One of Thousands," *Rude Pravo* (Prague), July 9, 1954, quoted a letter purported to be from a worker in Portland, Oregon:

"News from here? Unemployment, the people are enraged, the workers are exploited in a fearful way by the capitalists, and it is rumored that matters are going to get even worse. . . . There is no work, no one has anything to spend, people are living in great distress. I was laid off in November, I have used up all my savings, and **I am thankful to be alive at all.** . . . Social conditions for the workers are very bad indeed. . . . Here it is more difficult to get work than anywhere else in the world, and whenever one feels like speaking up, one must be careful not to be overheard, the way things are nowadays. . . . I have found out that everything you hear in the world about America is mere bluff. . . ."

Rude Pravo added: "Readers may protest that this is only one example, not a proof. But there are thousands of such letters. [Our] newspaper and radio offices receive such letters, as do thousands of private persons. . . . And every day these letters give evidence anew of the difference between our happy existence, free from exploitation of one human being by another, and the conditions in capitalist countries. . . . Is there not evidence enough in the daily strikes of thousands of American workers? Do they go on strike in order to demonstrate the joys of the 'American Paradise'?"

Labor "Sweated"

According to Communist propaganda, American workers are treated like their machines, to be exploited to the limit of their capacity and then abandoned when worn out. An editorial in *Trud* (Sofia), September 26, 1954, proclaimed: "The workers in the automobile industry in the US cannot sustain the work rate for more than four or five years, after which they become unfit and are thrown out like rags. . . ." Radio Sofia, February 17, 1955 charged that "the main aim of [the American] capitalists in introducing new machines is not to help the workers but to achieve greater profits. Very often plant owners prefer to hire desperate and hungry people to perform dangerous work instead of installing modern equipment."

An article called "This is America," *Viata Romineasca* (Bucharest), June 1954, found that Thomas Wolfe's short story *The Company* "demonstrates that the ferocious exploitation which weighs upon the life of American workers in cities extends also to white-collar workers in offices of large business companies." The story was summarized for Romanian readers as follows:

"The company which Thomas Wolfe observes and dissects so profoundly and ironically in this story is called 'The Federal Weight, Scales and Computing Company,' and it is a vast empire divided into 260 administrative districts. At the bottom of this edifice are the small salesmen who must promote the weights, scales and computing machines; the entire organization is set on their shoulders like a gravestone; immediately above them are the agents' supervisors, and higher up on the hierarchical ladder, the district supervisor. On the top step are the headquarters, directed by the manager, and on top of the pyramid is enthroned the descendant of the dynasty of the company's founder, the all-powerful Paul S. Appleton, III. The first Appleton's motto was to distribute the merchandise wherever the need for it existed. The third Appleton, however, is more sophisticated, more ruthless in his pursuit of surplus profits. He has been applying a new principle: the need must be created. And so, because the need must be created and the merchandise distributed everywhere, the salesmen are obliged to run around from dawn until late at night, sweating in their race from place to place trying to sell their article, until total exhaustion wears them out body and soul. . . ."

The oppression and degradation of weak labor minorities—immigrants, women, migratory farm labor—is one of Communist propaganda's most persistent themes.

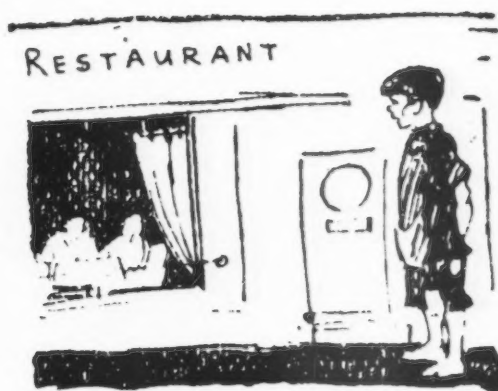
Under the title "True Western Democracy," *Smena* (Bratislava), November 28, 1954, wrote:

"USA—Sacramento, Capital of California: It is evening. A girl enters No. 14 on Jay Street, which has the sign 'Salvation Army' over the front door. Inside, the girl steps carefully so as not to disturb people sleeping spread out on the floor. Finally she finds a spot which allows her at least to stand. 'Suzy,' says a voice, 'did you find a job?' The girl answers ruefully, 'To find a job is more difficult than to find a space in this room. It is bad luck to be born a girl.' Why does she regret being a girl, why must she sleep on the stone floor of No. 14 Jay Street—what is that house, and who are the people there? The answer is plain: these are the unemployed. The charitable organization [the Salvation Army] does not explain why they are unemployed, does not tell them that the millionaire's vast houses are full of empty rooms; no, it simply provides them with a miserable overnight shelter. They sleep on the floor because the hypocritical 'charitable' organization does not consider purchasing beds. And why did Suzy complain of being a girl? Among the American unemployed the majority are women and girls; they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Furthermore, their wages are far below men's earnings. American industrialists profit from the discrepancy in wages for male and female workers, saving thereby about 5½ billion dollars a year. This amount would certainly be sufficient to build shelters for unemployed and homeless people. Then Suzy would not have to complain of having been

The American Way of Life



Caption: Left—33 percent of the people live in slums and 60 percent of these suffer from TB. Right—25 percent of children suffer from malnutrition.



Narodna Mladej (Sofia), February 3, 1954

born a girl. But do the American millionaires care for such girls and thousands of other paupers?"

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), August 14, 1954, for example, reported that:

"A particularly brutal campaign is being waged against Mexican farm labor in California. . . . Thousands of Mexican workers have been lured to the USA by the promise of good wages. Now US authorities in California arrest 300 Mexicans every day and deport them to Mexico. Arrests and deportations are an inseparable part of the slave system on American farms. Frequently, employers do not pay wages for the work done. Mexicans are driven to work on large American estates; when the time for payment comes, they are arrested and deported to Mexico, deprived of their earnings. . . ."

Similarly, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), May 20, 1954, wrote:

" . . . Another characteristic of the growing class differentiation and impoverishment of laboring farmers is the exploitation of workers, especially of the migratory workers [whose] wages are much less than those of the industrial workers. . . . Wages of women engaged in the rural economy are far below those of men. . . . The agricultural workers, looking for a way out of the calamitous situation, are taking the road of unification of their efforts with the working class, their real ally. . . ."

Though they project a picture of destitution and incipient class warfare in America, the Communists are uncomfortably aware that this is not easily reconciled with the prevailing belief that the living standard of the American people is the highest in the world. Much Communist propaganda is therefore dedicated to exploding this "myth." Far from enjoying an abundance of luxuries, the average American can barely afford necessities. The June 1954 Communist *Agitator's Handbook* for Bulgaria states: "According to official statistics, an American family of four needs about \$4,000 a year in order to live moderately well. With this income the father can buy an overcoat for himself once in 12½ years, the mother, a wool suit every nine

years and a housecoat once in 20 years. During the entire year the family can afford only a single ticket for a play or concert."

Narodna Mladej (Sofia), February 18, 1954, wrote:

"Lately the American radio has been broadcasting a series about the life of an American plumber. He not only lived luxuriously and gaily, he even once took a trip to Europe. . . . The actual facts of the American reality are quite different. They show that more than **two-thirds of the American workers now receive an income lower than the basic minimum for existence**, and that even from this scanty income, one-third is taken in direct or indirect taxes.

"The reactionary American magazine *Time* made the mistake of admitting that many children born in the US since the war have never tasted butter; because of the present prices, their parents are unable to buy it. . . . At this time unemployment is rampant in America. . . ."

Contrasts in scales of living in the US are often dramatized by the use of a montage technique, by which incongruous scenes or facts are presented side by side to point up the antithesis. An example of this was a story in the December 28, 1952, issue of *Rude Pravo* (Prague) from its New York correspondent Jiri Meisner:

" . . . The US press, financed by Wall Street, reports economic prosperity. Contrary to facts, it attempts to claim that there is a decent standard of living of the masses. To prove this, the *New York Times* recently published a report on the pre-Christmas market. And, in order to give the most favorable picture, there was a description of stores on Fifth Avenue, New York's most fashionable street. I went to have a look at these extravagant stores. They were indeed overflowing with merchandise, and jammed with customers. However, walking lower down on Fifth Avenue, I came to another neighborhood, the Bowery, neighboring with the fashionable part of New York. There, the shops look quite different from those on Fifth Avenue described by the *New York Times*. The customers there are not the people who amass fat profits, but common citizens, suffering severely from the constantly increasing prices. And what are they buying? I have seen

stores where you can buy, for example, one single shoe lace, secondhand. I saw a fellow carrying a sign that he was willing to sell whatever he had on, in order to get a few cents for a warm meal. I saw shelters for the unemployed, where people have to sleep sitting up, in order to save space. The American press boasts of the splendid stores on the ground floors of skyscrapers in the heart of Manhattan, claiming that this is America. In fact, however, this center, resplendent with neon lights, is in the middle of an endless sea of poor little houses, and miserable shops, where people buy fruit not by the pound, but piece by piece, and bread by the slice.

"What happened, for instance, in a small side street—in the shadow of the Fifth Avenue skyscrapers—in a small grocery store, frequented by workers living in the neighborhood? I asked for butter. 'We don't keep it in stock,' was the answer. 'There is not much demand for it, and we only order butter upon request.'

"That small shop, typical of the majority of New York shops, proves that the plush stores on Fifth Avenue, in the center of town, are but a false picture of 'American life.' It proves that the New York *Times* is lying when it attempts to depict as typical what actually serves but a handful of rich people living on the profit of their shares. . . ."

A favorite device is to compare the treatment of the pampered house pets of the rich with that of the children of the poor:

Two Houses in the Same City

"In New York, in one of the houses on Bushwick Avenue, this winter, at the age of only one month, Rafael

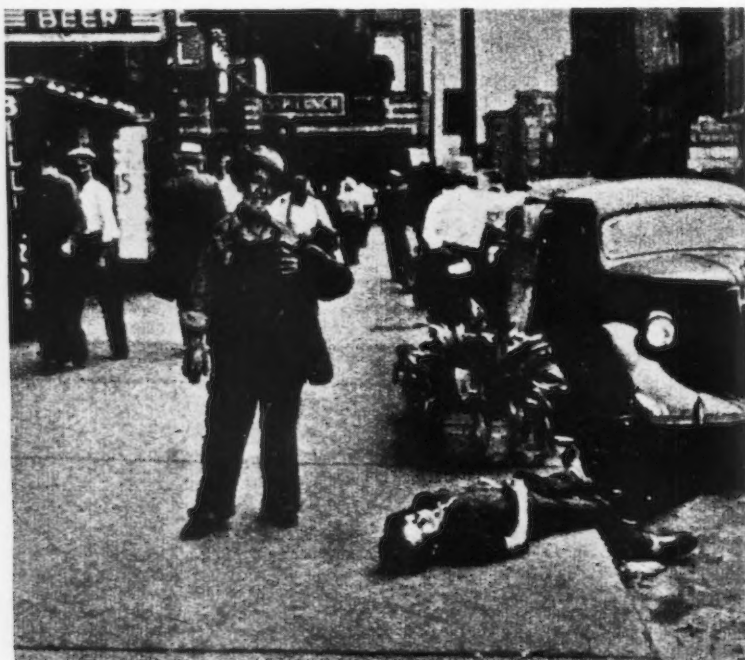
Ramos died. He froze to death because his parents could not afford heat for their apartment. Rafael's sister, two year old Idalia, was taken to the hospital with frozen hands and feet.

"In New York, in one of the houses on 57th Street, is a club for thoroughbred dogs. For a suitably high fee, each member of the club has the right to fine food, a daily bath, combing and manicure. The dogs are not exposed to extreme temperatures because the rooms are artificially heated in the winter and cooled in the summer." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], May 29, 1954).

The same newspaper wrote on June 1, 1954: "For the maintenance of house pets—according to *American Teacher*—Americans spend twice what they spend on their children's education. . . . The majority of dogs live in better apartments, receive better nourishment, and live in better hygienic conditions than over 30 percent of American children."

And the Sofia newspaper *Narodna Mladej*, February 4, 1954, declared that in the US "there are many charitable associations for 'the protection of animals.' Not long ago a case was brought to court in which a bulldog won a \$40,000 inheritance, while at the same time thousands of children, unemployed and old people starve, and are without shelter, roaming the streets with no hope for the future. . . ."

Not only are poverty and wealth in the US contrasted but the US economic system and the economy of the Soviet Union are constantly compared in children's textbooks where the simplification will leave a clear-cut imprint on young minds.



Caption: Left—Uniformed chauffeur accompanies his master's dog. Right—On the other hand a drunkard lies like a common dog on the pavement of "Madison Street."

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), February 12, 1955

The captive people are also told that American education and medical care are prohibitive in cost and corrupt in their organization. Radio Sofia, February 17, 1955 charged that "medical science in the US is a business. . . . In order to achieve greater profits, patients are often systematically poisoned with patent medicines containing harmful substances."

"Citizen Jandik has returned home," wrote *Prace* (Prague), January 18, 1955, "after 53 years in Cleveland, from where he was driven by misery and starvation." This returned emigre was quoted as having said that "It is hard to be ill in the US. One must pay a lot for medical treatment." The paper added: "He [Jandik] told of a woman who had to pay \$700 for a simple appendectomy in an ordinary hospital in Cleveland. He told of a farmer who lost his life savings and all his property when he grew old and fell sick. . . . 81 percent of infants in the US are born without hospitalization and under unsanitary conditions. . . ." The purpose of this particular cataloging of medical deficiencies is then revealed: "Citizen Jandik told of his difficulties in saving for his trip home. Thousands of other Czechs and Slovaks would like to return home, but not many of them are fortunate enough to remain healthy so that they can save for the trip in their old age."

Smena (Bratislava), October 17, 1954, also published the testimony of a returned emigre, this time on the subject of education:

"What are the possibilities for education in the US? Mrs. M. Kratochvil tells us: 'They claim that in the US everybody has an opportunity for education. That is true, as long as the parents have the means. One year of studies costs \$1000, and food and board are \$80 a month at least. And who can afford to keep his son or daughter for five years at such an expense?'"

"Millions of unemployed young people and thousands of students walk the streets, looking for leftovers in the garbage cans, happy to find work shining shoes or washing dishes in restaurants. This is a terrible indictment of the American way of life. To tell the truth, there is one opportunity to study in America even for those who are not well-to-do. Of course, under one condition. Minister of Justice [Attorney General] Brownell appealed to young people without means, promising them the chance to study free of tuition and a good job abroad if they would be willing to—cooperate with the US Gestapo, the FBI. 'For your services,' declared Brownell, 'you will be well paid.'"

An interesting example of how Communist propagandists make deliberately distorted inferences from carefully selected facts is this report broadcast over Radio Prague on February 7, 1955:

"An opinion poll among young Americans graduating from school, organized by the US Chamber of Commerce, contained questions about problems of private enterprise. According to *The Wall Street Journal*, the poll yielded most surprising results. Some 82 percent of the young people interviewed declared that they did not believe that free competition existed in American business—thus making it clear that they thought that the US economy was dominated by a few gigantic monopolies.

TO JEST AMERYKA...



Title: This is America

Caption: "This drawing is reprinted from a reactionary Polish newspaper *Dziennik Chicagowski* of June 7, 1954." The rest of the caption explains that these are 1954 graduates clamoring for jobs and that (according to Szpilki) there is a great shortage of jobs in the United States.

Szpilki (Warsaw), September 12, 1954

"Sixty percent stated that they felt that owners of American enterprises were drawing disproportionate profits, while 75 percent declared that manufacturers, and not the workers, were reaping the advantages of modern technical equipment. Finally, 55 percent expressed their approval of the Communist principle: everyone should be paid according to his abilities and needs.

"*The Wall Street Journal* was forced to admit that American students look askance at capitalism. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that this is the new generation of Americans. The opinions of these young people doubtless reflect the opinions and experiences of the families in which they grew up."

The Nature of the State

"Bloody Ike—this is what the new President of the US is called by the nations of the world—is a foremost herald of the so-called American way of life, which consists, apart from profit-chasing, of war, Fascism, and sterilization."

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), March 7, 1953

Lincoln's Birthday this year was "observed" by Radio Sofia with the comment:

"In his Gettysburg Address, Lincoln defined his people as being created equal. But is it a fact? Ask the Negro sharecroppers. Ask the unemployed. Ask the intellectuals. And to be up to date, ask the people of Washington about the desegregation of schools.

"Lincoln ended his address by saying that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. Alas, there is no such government in the US. What has Big Business to do [with such a

government]? How many farmers, how many members of the intelligentsia are there in the US Congress? Why are there so many illiterates in the US? Why are there so few schools? Why do people become hysterical at the talk of atomic war. . . .?"

The Marxist conception of the American political system is that it is a democracy in name only; that the group called the bourgeoisie, by virtue of its economic control of the country, also monopolizes the political power. The Communist interpretation of the Party system in US politics was exemplified by a January 5 Radio Budapest comment on the November Congressional elections in the US:

"It is known that as a result of the elections last November the Democrats hold the majority in both Houses. However, past experience proves that the difference between the two Parties is only nominal. On major issues they are in perfect accord since both Parties are backed by the American monopolies. . . ."

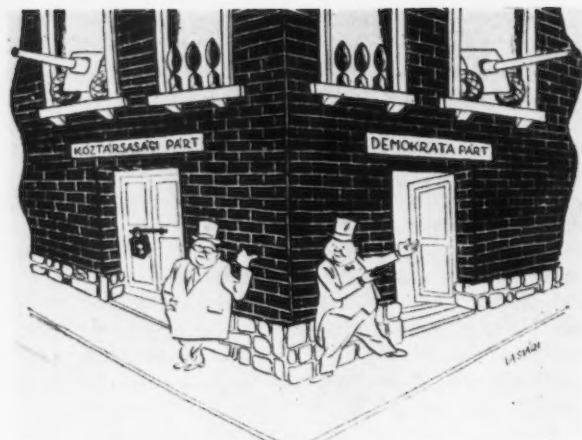
This dogma determines propaganda exploitation even of the McCarthy-Eisenhower differences. It was "obvious" to *Magyar Nemzet*, March 10, 1954, "that the McCarthy-Eisenhower duel is merely over ways and means, that the Morgans and Du Ponts have simply been giving conflicting orders to the two participants of the duel. . . ."

Although the Communists have never recognized the United States as a "true democracy," since the start of the cold war they have come to paint it in the lurid colors of a police state. With remarks such as, "instead of schools, Army bases and barracks are being built all over the US" (*Trud* [Sofia], December 11, 1953) the Communist press hammers out the line that the US is rapidly acquiring all the characteristics—suppression of civil rights, race persecution, police terror—of a Fascist state. This line derives directly from US-Soviet Union conflict in the international field. Its volume and intensity reflect both Soviet foreign policy means as well as measures taken by the US government against Communism at home and abroad; thus it reached a crescendo in 1950 with the outbreak of the Korean War, tapered off at the 1953 emergence of the "co-existence" line, and flared again at the prospect of German rearmament in 1954.

Szabad Nep (Budapest), February 7, 1955, quoted a Hungarian peasant:

"Talk turns to America? Here's the heart of the matter. What does American 'democracy' amount to, when the best sons of the once-free nation are imprisoned and put in the electric chair [the Rosenbergs]; when Negroes are hanged and everyone believing in peace and freedom is watched and persecuted, when decent people and honest men and women are deprived of the right to vote, and the greatest movie star of the world, Charlie Chaplin, is banished. . . .?"

In a book recently published in Czechoslovakia (*The Wilson Legend in the History of Czechoslovakia* by Jiri Hajek), the author writes of the US President: "Today it is not a professor of rotten bourgeois science, like Wilson; not even the agent of American business like Truman, but Eisenhower, a militarist, a general, savagely clanking his sword and making threats of bombings. . . . He repeats



Title: After the American elections.

Inscription on left door: Republican Party; on right door: Democratic Party.

Caption: Come back . . . through the other door. (Both doors lead to same arsenal).

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), November 18, 1954

phrases used by Hitler and Mussolini, admiring the barbarian morals of the warriors of the Middle Ages. . . ."

Obrance Vlasti (Prague), June 5, 1953, wrote:

"The sharpest gulf between the Army and the people appears in the United States. The imperialist Army, with its history of force and terror, is the instrument of bankers and monopolists. In its entire history this Army has always been fighting far from its home country, to conquer new territories and new wealth for the capitalist magnates. . . . History has proved in many wars and battles that an army without the support of the people is doomed to defeat in advance. How could the American people love and support an Army whose officers have to learn from service handbooks how to fight successfully against demonstrating workers?"

Radio Bucharest, January 20, 1955, said that figures quoted to Congress by President Eisenhower on Army enlistments "show in a convincing manner that the anti-militarist state of mind of US youth is growing." Calling the "Korean adventure" a "sad but edifying lesson," the broadcast declared that "US youth now refuses to enroll in the new legions which Washington is preparing for new military adventures. . . . The fact that this state of mind prevails among the youth and worries the American government is not surprising. The US journalist Hanson Baldwin recently said that the morale of US soldiers and career Army men was the lowest he has witnessed in his 25 years as a military commentator. . . . Thus those who dreamed of organizing new bloodshed have frightened the victims they wished to entrap. That is why in his message the President suggested new measures such as higher wages and allowances for US soldiers and officers and their families, measures which are meant to bribe US youth into accepting an Army career."

The Communist press now reports all current political events in the US in this context of militarism and Fascism.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is constantly referred to as a "secret police," a "political police," the "Gestapo FBI." A play which opened in Hradec Karlovy (Czechoslovakia) on February 17, 1954, depicts the role of the FBI in these terms. According to *Svet V Obrazech* (Prague), March 20, 1954, the play is based on this "quotation" from the US press: "For the sake of American democracy it is necessary at this stage of the war to keep certain medical discoveries of the free, i.e. American, world, a strict secret." The newspaper wrote:

"Could there be a better description of the gist of [Oldrich] Danek's new play? Never! The drug discovered by Dr. Steelford [the hero of the play] against bubonic plague cannot be given to humanity for the simple reason that the world would then possess—in a future war, a germ war, which the Americans would like to spread elsewhere as they did in Korea—a cure for bubonic plague. Therefore [in the play], FBI agents watch closely to see that the drug be kept from other scientists, including Soviet scientists. The discovery of the drug, the interference by the FBI, and Dr. Steelford's resistance, are the main events of the play.

"[At the beginning of the play], a Dr. Griffith, head of the epidemiologic department of Logan Research Institute, is preparing a report on the drug for the medical press and for the planning committee of the International Congress of Bacteriologists, which is about to be held in New York. The FBI immediately orders its agent Coleman to make Dr. Steelford turn over all the material on the new discovery to the FBI. Coleman however makes the mistake of revealing the FBI's motives. Dr. Steelford, who with his wife Jessie served on the Western Front in World War II and saw the concentration camps, refuses to obey. He knows that his drug can help mankind, and he sees why the FBI is taking such an interest in controlling its production. He does not yield, even when he is abandoned by Dr. Griffith and other professional friends who are afraid of losing their positions. Dr. Steelford's wife Jessie has volunteered to take an injection of bubonic plague in order to test the new drug. She is determined to go ahead with the experiment despite the FBI's prohibition of the drug. A close friend of Steelford from the International Congress of Bacteriologists is summoned. He successfully warns the FBI that in the eyes of the whole world it would be considered guilty of the murder of Jessie, if she dies because the FBI will not allow the drug to be produced. . . ."

The review concluded: "Danek's play is impressive by virtue of its clear delineation of the characters, by the correct scheme of the conflicts. There is perhaps too much declamation and phrase-making in some of the passages and the conclusion is sentimental. But despite these faults, Danek's play fully deserves to be performed and will certainly fulfill its mission on many other stages."

Swiat (Warsaw), October 10, 1954, wrote, under a photostatic reproduction of the New York *Herald Tribune* headline—"Honest Elections—Armed Troops Keep Watch As Phenix City Goes to Polls": "The paper [*Herald Tribune*] further asserts that Phenix citizens voted for one magistrate 'under the watchful eyes of armed guards,' in order to prevent 'political corruption.'" *Swiat* added: "We doubt that corruption was avoided in this manner. However, it appears from this that in the United States police



Title: Court proceedings in USA.

Caption: "Are these all witnesses? In what trial?"

"Whatever trial you order . . ."

Szpilki (Warsaw), October 3, 1954,
reprinted from Moscow's *Krokodil*

sticks and military bayonets constitute one of the indispensable means of 'honest' elections."

Ludas Matyi, November 14, 1954, ascribed these hypothetical sentiments to Eisenhower after the Democratic victory in the Congressional elections:

"The ingratitude of the voters shocks me. Is this what I deserve? I have done everything I could. In the interest of the development of sports I have raised the art of witch-hunting to a high level, banned the Communist Party, and given my support to the persecuted Nazi generals. I have helped the poor: Chiang-Kai-Shek received napalm-bombs at a reduced price from us. I was engaged in serious activity, in fact, in radio-activity, in the interest of the Japanese fishing industry. Juvenile participation in public affairs shows considerable increase: juvenile delinquency has reached unprecedented heights. I have expanded the Monroe Doctrine and fought for the principle that Europe belongs to the Americans, and that Asia belongs to the Americans. I made the Negroes equal with the Indians. In the course of producing consumer goods we produced an H-bomb which we ourselves do not dare to explode. I have never lost touch with the people: I have always maintained close contact with the widest strata of millionaires. And yet I have been defeated, despite the fact that I approached the matter of the voting in so-called steam-roller fashion. My only comfort is that only 40 percent of the electorate voted, which means that actually they are also in the minority like myself."

In an article on the Evanston Protestant Church Convention, *Szabad Nep*, August 13, 1954, declared:

"America is the country of fear. Like true Pharisees, the US authorities are afraid to refuse an entry visa to the Bishops [from the Satellite countries] because they do not dare to confess openly that the respect they owe a leading minister of the Church does not reach beyond the limits of their anti-people interests. But on the other hand, they do not dare to grant an entry visa, because they are afraid of . . . every citizen of a free nation, be he a Bishop or anything else. This dilemma they solve in a truly American way: through the sleuthing of the FBI."

II. The Face of America: People and Places

The Communist view of culture and morality in the United States revolves around a few basic themes: the standardization of life, the debasement of science and art, the degradation of man. Life in the United States has neither color nor joy nor virtue; it is both menacing and menaced. This view reflects some of the ideas held by some segments of the European intelligentsia, and the Communists utilize these prejudices for their own purposes, wherever possible connecting them with the more "scientific" analyses of Marxist-Leninism. Their object is to complete the image of a United States so remote, so hostile to civilized values, that it is futile to hope for any real sympathy or lasting relations with it.

"The Ice Cream Scoop is Always the Same"

Mihai Ralea, a pro-Communist professor and newspaperman in Romania, recently published a book based on his impressions of the United States during his stay here as Romanian Minister to Washington in 1947. Selections from his book appeared in the February 1954 issue of the Bucharest paper *Viata Romineasca*. Although wholly one-sided, his criticism of the US is considerably more "literary" than the usual Communist polemic.

"Everyone who spends even a few weeks in the States becomes aware of the immense drabness of life everywhere. There, man has died; he has been transformed into a docile and meek slave of the machine; there, nature is not mastered for the purpose of helping to improve human existence, but merely serves as a producer of income for some, an exploiter for the many. There, the machine penetrates deeply into the privacy of men's lives. Tastes, diversions, needs, all are distributed in absolutely identical patterns, classified according to well-defined canons . . . which weigh heavily, like iron mail, on the pulsations of man's personality. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, there is the same cuisine, the same dress launched into the market in the spring, the same movies, the same slogans. Conversation is reduced to two or three verbal tics, identical and repetitious echoes. . . . The ice cream scoop is always the same, just as the waitresses' uniform is always the same, just as the shape of the shoes is always the same, everything is like everything else, even laughter and tears. . . ."

Similarly, eating is dehumanized:

"In certain restaurants, before every listing on the menu is printed the chemical make-up of all the ingredients in the dish, so much carbon, so much ash, so much Vitamin A, B, and C, etc. Also there is an indication of the number of calories contained in the food. The American passion for reducing everything to the same common denominator would deprive man even of the simple pleasure of eating, merely for the sake of promoting the sales of a few chemical pill-manufacturers."



Caption: "Come, children, and I'll make good Americans out of you . . ."

Swiat (Warsaw), March 14, 1954

Even the landscape is mass-produced. The following is a view from a passing train:

"Neatly laid out highways and rustic cottages, which are all built from the same blueprint, of the same white painted wood. They are only country cottages, all of them, and they look like barns, being built right in the middle of woods or fields; they have no fences, and therefore, no gardens or yards. A passenger who was sitting next to me remarked that this nation—so much obsessed with the idea of private property—actually shows, by not surrounding their houses with fences, a collectivist tendency. I should think rather that this has nothing to do with any collectivist feeling, that it is just a matter of spending less money."

Of American cities, Ralea wrote: "New Orleans. . . . Here and there a cheap chain restaurant. The air is heavy with the nauseating odor of gravy, cooking oil, roasted peanuts, and what is more terrible, clove. When to this smelly combination you add gas fumes, you have the customary scent of all American cities."

Of American hotels: "Huge and uncomfortable hotels of questionable cleanliness where there is no service—the guest can ring all he wants, nobody will ever come—swarming with travelling salesmen . . . at the slightest hesitation or sign of timidity in the hotel lobby, he [the guest] is immediately surrounded by these people who offer him fountain pens, nylon stockings, or canned goods. . . ."

Class and Caste

The social scene is scored in a Hogarthian picture of American resorts:

"Miami: In the winter, the beach is a permanent shelter for thousands of tradesmen from Brooklyn (a section of New York) with their families. The men are fat, they dress in eccentric clothes dominated by large plaid patterns. The women, displaying aggressive *nouveau riche* tendencies, are decked out from early morning in ostrich feathers, expensive furs, ostentatious jewels and costly cosmetics from 'Elizabeth Arden.' Their main thought is to flaunt their luxurious living, their membership in the wealthy class; to them, money is the only [mark of] distinction. To this world, the simple and moderate man is a miserable failure, a lost soul. Even the intellectual and the artist are considered from the same materialistic viewpoint. If their wallets are not full, they are, at best, mere clowns to relieve the boredom of wives whose husbands are too busy extracting money from all kinds of deals. The beach is deafeningly noisy, with fat and indiscreet joviality. In between the clusters of people rise heaps of egg shells, chicken bones, empty sardine cans. **Everything is loud, vulgar and dirty.**

"A few miles to the north is a charming little Spanish town with vestiges of old homes and gardens, where one finds the 'chic' beach of the upper bourgeoisie whose members are remote, silent and hard as nails; this is Palm Beach. The population is almost exclusively feminine. The men, obsessed with the course of their business affairs, visit their families only on weekends. Their wives, with nothing to do, without any interests, wander around in the streets—imbecile and empty-headed—dressed in clothes which cost the equivalent of a working family's yearly budget; or, in the evening, they meet for seances, Freudian

discussions or bridge. After a month at Palm Beach in the winter, they will all return to New York—this is a strict requirement of etiquette—just as useless and aimless as they have always been, to talk about what a lovely time they had on the balmy coast of Florida."

The "symbolic" meaning of cigar-smoking was pointed out in a "portrait of the American businessman," which appeared in *Viata Romineasca* (Bucharest), July, 1954:

"As cigars have become a national institution and a true picture of mores, smoking them also represents a special social style, symbolic of an ostentatious detachment from the masses. More often than not, when you see a fat gentleman dressed in a loud plaid suit, holding in the corner of his mouth a cigar which is sometimes as much as 12 inches long, and blowing the smoke out nonchalantly or arrogantly, you may be sure of this character's identity: he is a master, one of those who decides the course of the market, the quantity of products or the number of unemployed. Thus, smoking cigars becomes an insolent sign of power. Before introducing himself, this man makes sure of intimidating or frightening his interlocutor so as to give him an inferiority complex, which, in the course of commercial transactions, is very convenient for the exploiter."

"The Little Negro"

The charge of color prejudice is one of the most popular notes in the anti-American propaganda keyboard. Out of a voluminous supply of examples, this one is taken from the third-grade Polish reader *Nasza Klasa*:

"Little Jim's skin is dark like chocolate, his eyes are big and radiant, his hair black and curly. When he smiles, a row of white teeth brightens his round little face. But lately Jim smiles very rarely.

"When he was still quite small, it seemed to him that he was very happy. . . . [he] used to play in the street until evening together with his friends. In the section where he lived, all the people were black like himself.

"But when Jim grew to be a little older, he felt a desire to go out of his section and to see how people lived in other sections of the great American city—New York.

". . . In one of the smaller streets Jim saw a group of boys playing with a ball. They were not Negroes. Their skin was white . . . Jim stood aside and watched. The ball fell near him, so he caught it and threw it back to the boys. The boys looked at each other and a little later they threw the ball again in Jim's direction. Jim knew how to play ball like a professional athlete. The boys accepted Jim as a playmate . . . until all of a sudden, a tall, somewhat older boy appeared. He wore a nice blue suit and in his hand he held a little stick, quite like a grownup.

"What?" he exclaimed. 'Don't you have enough white boys that you play with a Negro? Scram!'

"Frightened, Jim ran away. At the corner, one of his playmates overtook him. 'You can come and play with us, but don't let anybody see us,' he said.

"Why shouldn't anybody see us?" asked Jim.

"You are a Negro," explained the boy. 'In America, Negro children are not allowed to play with white children. I don't know why that's so, but grownup people do not play with Negroes either.'

"At home, mother clasped to her bosom an exhausted and weeping Jim.

"'In America'—she explained—'there is a bad law that says that Negroes are not allowed to live where white people live, nor be friends with them, nor even take the same trolley cars. White people are of the opinion that we are not as good as they are.' . . ."

In *Readings for Fifth Grade* (Warsaw), 1951, "In the Far State of Alabama" is the story of a Negro who, after glorious achievements in the American Army, is lynched when he tries to go to a "white" movie theater.

The oddest aspects of American life are often portrayed by Communist commentators as constituting the average, the norm. Through such distortions, the captive people are made to see much of America as weird and barbaric. *Swiat* (Warsaw), November 21, 1954, published the following article entitled "Revelations in a Brocade Dressing-Gown":

"The right venerable James Jones, better known as 'Prophet Jones,' has left New York where he gave a speech in the great hall of Carnegie Hall announcing to the people of New York that in 46 years the day will arrive when there will be no death or taxes. At the same time, to increase his popularity in governmental circles, the 'prophet' warned that 'a terrible gang of spies' is operating in New York. At present, 'Prophet Jones' is going to Detroit to wait for further 'revelations from heaven.'"

"The prophet maintains that in America he has 6 million followers who, in acknowledgement of his prophetic talents, send him valuable presents. These presents are mostly jewels: rings, bracelets, buttons, earrings. All of these the prophet wears on his person. When he goes out the prophet puts on a fur coat lined in purple. When going on a trip, he takes with him 400 suits, 30 brocade dressing-gowns ornamented with rubies and emeralds, and a beautiful throne ornamented with many precious stones. The prophet has a retinue of 80 persons, including three valets, five chauffeurs, four bodyguards, three lady secretaries, one cook, one dietician, two organists, one pianist, and a mixed chorus. All of them, together with the prophet, travel in five cars of the highest class: a cream-colored Cadillac, a white Buick, another Buick, and the gem of the whole fleet—a green Lincoln (the most expensive car in the US), and a Chevrolet truck. The right venerable has his own beautiful church in Detroit and a magnificent rectory.

"And imagine it—there are many such 'prophets' in the US."

Under the heading "American Mores," *Scinteia* (Bucharest), January 9, 1955, reported: "Not very long ago, in the vicinity of San Francisco, a new hotel opened, which will cater to a most unusual clientele. First of all, not everybody will be able to enjoy the hospitality of this place. Applicants must meet certain requirements before they are accepted: they must be rich, bored, and cold-blooded. Undoubtedly there are many millionaires in present-day America who, besotted by the monotony of their existence, are really bored and always seek such 'strong sensations' as those made available by the management of this hotel. Here are a few examples of the treatment 'for boredom' offered by the hotel: Small, tame crocodiles appear at all times in the halls of the hotel; skeletons leap out of the dark recesses of the public rooms; drinks are served in hol-

low skulls. After ten o'clock at night, the whole place shakes with the screams of 'ghosts.'"

Not only the rich are bored. The lack of variety in their life makes all Americans compulsive thrill-seekers who take up all sorts of bizarre and brutal pastimes in their search for new sensations.

Szpilki (Warsaw), August 1, 1954, under the heading of "Games and Amusements in the 'free World'," wrote the following passage on "The Gladiators of 1954":

"We present something hyper-super thrilling: In the luxurious American beach resort of Long Beach, a new kind of game has been introduced which is worthy of 20th-century Neros. It is called—after the Greek—a "Walkathon." A number of handcuffed couples take part in this contest, and they must walk around the arena to the accompaniment of a wild jazz rhythm until they are completely exhausted and sink motionless to the ground. The couple which lasts the longest wins the contest and receives a money prize. However, during the contest competitors can kick the knees and bellies of other competitors, tear out their hair, and rip their clothes, exactly as in the capitalist system of free competition.

"So every night the show goes on; couples of modern gladiators torture each other under the watchful eyes of umpires. Sometimes a competitor can take no more and wants to quit, to the despair of his girl-partner. Or it also happens that she faints dead away in her partner's arms."

The American Character

The American "mass man" is seen as little more than a savage; he is, in fact, sub-human. Regime propaganda has linked this to its descriptions of war preparations in the US, charging that the brutalization of the American man is both aim and consequence of the government's plans for launching an aggressive war. On November 13, 1954, *Irodalmi Ujsag* (Budapest) commented thus on "A Guaranteed Genuine American Invention":

"There may be some truth to the story. . . . The first rumors from overseas reached us about a year ago, and recently they have been confirmed by a [West European] technical magazine. The magazine reported 'extraordinary experiments' conducted at the University of Virginia, where a doctor succeeded in inseminating a female chimpanzee with human male sperm. Higher US circles were reported enthusiastically endorsing this 'significant' event and preparing to give the 'eminent' doctor all the financial support he might need. Why? This too has been explained: they are hoping to discover whether it will be possible to produce in the near future a human species 'suitable for performing primitive and dangerous jobs,' and they are expecting that if the experiments prove successful they will be able to solve numerous social problems. . . .

" . . . What a prospect! It took feeble nature eons to change a monkey into a man. Now, with the help of science, a few years will suffice for man to become a monkey. . . .

"And why not? Social existence with human beings is becoming ever more complex. Man's spiritual and mental evolution is extremely slow. Human beings may for a long time retain vestiges such as hope for a better life, for

American Literature . . .



and its Educational Effects



Trud (Sofia), May 5, 1952

beauty and for peace. But thanks to science, a relatively short time is needed to produce—on the assembly line, as it were—an ideal human species suitable for the American way of life.

"A human type which at the height of its evolution no longer thinks, no longer has claims, does not demand higher wages, does not stage strikes, and—most important of all—takes pleasure in performing the 'more dangerous' jobs: kills and murders on command whenever and wherever it is deemed necessary.

"What an achievement! A guaranteed genuine American invention. . . ."

American sport has been perverted into one of the main weapons in the training of "unthinking murderers," according to *Ceskoslovensky Sport* (Prague), September 1, 1953:

"The American imperialists [are greatly concerned] with the preparation of human reserves for their Army. **Stupid, unthinking murderers, ready for any crime, are needed** . . . the schools hold an important place in this system for training American youth. . . . Therefore, militarization and Fascistization of schools is being carried out with sports as a primary instrument. . . . American sports are, as everyone knows, unsurpassed in brutality. Roughness, bloodshed and slayings . . . are the most characteristic features of sports competitions in the US, particularly of American football: [those] fierce battles [which exploit] the basest instincts of players and spectators. . . . These features are characteristic not only of professional football but of the school games of teenagers. What are the schoolboys taught in these clubs, what are the methods used? The best answer can be found in an article by a well-known American orthopedic surgeon. He starts his article by recounting numerous cases of serious injuries, crippling and fatalities among schoolboy athletes. [But] he is in full sympathy with the bloodthirsty spirit ruling American football fields. . . . Under the guise of explaining how 'this carnage can be avoided,' he gives details on how these injuries occur, [in such a way] as to serve directly those who intend to use this information for the deliberate crippling of the opponent on the sports field. . . ."

Poprostu (Warsaw), June 8, 1954, described an American football game in these terms:

"Facing each other along a white line, two rows of barbarians dressed in huge steel helmets jump up and down. Suddenly there is a whistle. With a wild scream such as was probably uttered by the first cave men when they crushed the heads of their enemies with stone axes, the two armored rows charge each other: one can hear the breaking of bones, the dull thud of steel, and see how the heavy-soled boots crush the hands and feet of the opponents. Again the whistle shrills. Twenty-one armored robots stretch their arms, the twenty-second lies on the ground like a corpse. 'OK,' the man with the whistle shouts. 'Everything is OK. And take Jim off the field. Call a surgeon.'"

The article quoted a comment in the Russian magazine *Sovetsky Sport* that "American football damages American youth both physically and morally. And that is why it is so widely cultivated in American universities and colleges: it helps to transform youth into animals."

"Wake Up Screaming . . ."

According to the Communist version, the American subconscious is charged with hate and superstitious fear. They point out that existence in the US is fraught with danger and lawlessness and their press is full of statistics on crimes, suicides, automobile accidents, and other calamities. *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia) of January 20, 1954, for instance, informs its readers that "In the United States, every three minutes an American is attacked, robbed or fatally injured . . . every two minutes a car is stolen, and every minute, a bicycle." Mental disease, juvenile delinquency, racial persecution, war hysteria, all these are attributed to government warmongering, which has shattered the people's nerves and undermined the morale of the younger generation.

Journey Into the Country of Fear

Viata Romineasca (Bucharest), March 1954, made the following diagnosis of America's mass psychosis:

" . . . Sinister forebodings makes them [the Americans]

feel the wing of death. They are afraid of both light and dark, they are afraid of other people's life and of their own death, they are afraid of peace, they are afraid of nations which fight for freedom and independence, they fear friend and foe alike, and they distrust their own people. Even the delicacies described in French on the menus of the expensive restaurants taste like dust in their mouths. Their digestion is troubled by the earth-shaking vibration of the 800 million people who shout with determination for the highest price paid to humankind—peace—which is threatened by the American mass war hysteria.

"This folly goes to such extremes that the nerves of the simple man in the street are completely frayed. A reporter remarked: 'It takes just a short circuit in the subway or a gas explosion in the sewers, and the people, thinking that the war has started, scurry away screaming with fear.'

"Indeed, mental illnesses cause a great deal of trouble in the United States where, according to the *Daily News*, more than two thousand psychoanalysts make a fortune by distributing the most fantastic diagnoses and 'remedies' to their patients eaten away by a neurosis whose remedy cannot be found in bottles or pills, nor in long hours of psychoanalysis, but in an atmosphere of calm and peace."

Similarly, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), January 14, 1951, wrote:

"... Constant fear, strain, and moral terror cause a terrific increase of mental disease and suicides [in America]. Since 1948, when hysteria seized the country, hundreds of persons charged with being too progressive have committed suicide. ... **The American bourgeoisie wages a campaign of terror without precedent in history.** Children wake in the night screaming ... they are being scared out of their wits in schools and kindergartens by constant anti-atomic drills. ..."

"The Game of Death"

Smena (Prague), October 17, 1954, wrote: "Albert Kahn, US writer, in his recent book *The Game of Death*, gives a number of examples of war hysteria incited by American warmongers and implanted in the minds of school children. According to Kahn, teachers frighten children with lurid descriptions of corpses mutilated by atom bomb attacks, they distribute metal discs with the children's identification and ask for the addresses of next of kin to be informed in the case of their death. Such education, serving the artificial development of war hysteria, and through that, the criminal war aims of the armament monopolies, has a destructive effect on the morale of the young people and leads to their training for criminality. ..."

Radio Moscow, March 18, 1955, quoted this article from *Komsolmolskaya Pravda*:

"On the afternoon of March 15 the American city of Mobile in Alabama was swept by the wail of sirens. In a few minutes the streets of the usually quiet town were full of thousands of cars driving at a high speed. All of them went in one direction, to a school, where at the first sound of alarm thousands of boys and girls stopped their work and went out into the street.

"The sound of brakes and sharp orders created a sort of wild stampede which frightened the children. Many of

them wept. The children, pale and shaken with fear, were quickly taken to the cars and carried far from the town.

"What was it? A raid by gangsters who had organized a general kidnapping of children? A mob scene for making another Wild Western film? Nothing of the sort. It was a mass evacuation of the schoolchildren from the town which had been subjected to a hypothetical attack by an enemy using the hydrogen bomb. The American way of life abounds in examples of frightening American children. ... The evacuation of Mobile is another proof of the continuing atomic psychosis in the United States. ..."

Szabad Ifjusag, January 15, 1953, carried the following passage describing American schools to young Hungarian pupils:

"[In this American school], if the children cannot follow the explanation, the teacher beats them. ... One day the whole class was taken to the police and fingerprinted as if they were criminals or murderers. The police explained that this was necessary to enable the authorities to recognize their bodies in case of war. ... In the course of his education, Johnny came to realize that fighting was the most courageous thing and Fascists and gangsters the most glorious people in the world. ... He was told so often that murder was not a crime but a skill that he soon came to believe it. One evening on his way home from the movies, he noticed a small child on the street. Suddenly he began to wonder how it would feel to commit murder. The thought hardly took form before Johnny struck. ... Thus Johnny became worthy of his ideal, Jim Fox, the hero of the dime novels, the Terror of the Prairie. ... Johnny's education was complete. Now he is an accomplished soldier, who would kill even his own father for tinkling dollars."

Under the heading "Growing Up in the US: a Study in Five Ages," *Urzica* (Bucharest), November 30, 1954, printed this sketch:

"At five. Daddy . . .
What is it?
May I have a nickel to buy the comics?"

"At seven. Daddy . . .
Yes?
I need a dollar to make a bet at the race track."

"At ten. Daddy . . .
What is it, son?
Give me five dollars to play poker with the fellows."

"At fifteen. Daddy . . .
What is it?
Can I have ten bucks? I want to buy a gun."

"At seventeen. Daddy . . .
Yes?
Stick 'em up . . . and give me everything you've got!"

The American mass media are charged with inciting criminality and depravity in young people. *Smena* (Bratislava), November 3, 1954, declared:

"Recently the US Federal Secret Police—FBI—published statistics on the increase of juvenile delinquency in

the US. This time it seems that the American public was really shocked. . . . From 1952 to 1953, the number of robberies committed by adolescents doubled while the number of slayings, rapes, etc. increased greatly. The press reports an additional fact missing in the FBI report: that crimes committed by adolescents are increasing in depravity. . . .

"Walter Lippmann wrote that sadism is the fashion in the entertainment available to the broad masses of American people. And he does not exaggerate. We shudder to think of an American movie, now playing in one of New York's largest theaters, in which the hero rids himself of his mistress by pouring boiling water over her . . . or cowboy films in which the heroes shoot at whatever or whoever stands in the way to their sweethearts or to money.

"Samuel Leibowitz, the famous American judge, called juvenile delinquency a malignant growth which cannot be cured by millions of policemen or hundreds of social welfare centers. He is right. The bearer of the disease is the entire system, the entire oft-praised American way of life, misery, unemployment, the spreading of Fascist views. The American monopolists dream of world domination, they need conquests. In order to train their young people to be senseless cutthroats and adventurers, they approve of brutalities in the press, film, radio, etc., and shut their eyes to growing delinquency. This is the real cause of the youth's disease in the US."

In a talk on "The Rise of Criminality in the United States," Radio Sofia, March 6, 1955 contended:

"More than two million crimes were registered in the US in 1954, not including thefts, injuries, rapes, and anti-Negro acts. One of the causes is the rotten American civilization of today. American imperialism is a hotbed of criminality and corruption. . . . The American press and radio glorify business as the only aim in life. With the help of man-hating and pornographic literature, the strategists of the American 'spiritual renaissance' are attempting to remove all social conscience in the common man, to deprive him of moral and psychic stability, and to turn him into a degenerate."

The hard core of the indictment of American culture lies in the following ideological tenet: "The spiritual, and, in general, the cultural life of the US are in the hands of those who own the means of production. The movie industry, the radio, the press, the theater and education belong to corporations and trusts which own industry, the oil, the ships, the banks, and the land. . . . Through the organs of culture, the corporations shape the habits and morals of America and direct the behavior of youth. It is the Big Business men who . . . hire professors and personnel of the universities, and plan the educational programs. . . ." *Mladezh* [Sofia], November 1954).

Radio Sofia on February 17, 1955, accused Western philosophers of being paid clerks of big business interests, spinning out cynical rationalizations for war and violence: "Philosophical studies in the US acclaim the urge for war as a factor innate in human nature. . . . The American press praises the anti-human ideas of the English philosopher [Bertrand] Russell . . . who advocates a world government which would reserve a leading role for financial magnates. . . . All bourgeois philosophers of today—Santayana, Russell, Smith—are unanimous in their belief . . . that



Caption: "My Jimmy is in fact a gangster, but he serves in the police."

"My Tommy is a policeman, but in the service of gangsters."

Szpilki (Warsaw), May 16, 1954

there is no objective truth. According to these pragmatists, truth is only what is useful or advantageous to man—that is, to the capitalists. War, a means of salvation to dying capitalism, is the final and ultimate goal of these philosophers. Their aim is to find a theory to justify the policy of the imperialists of aggression and violence. . . ."

The imperialists pervert biology with the aim of "inciting race hatred," according to this broadcast. "Many articles and books repeat the mendacious theory of the natural right of the American race to dominate the world.

"The long discredited Malthusian fairy tales of overpopulation are again in fashion. The responsibility for the crimes of capitalism, which have sentenced millions to hunger, misery and death, is being shifted to the laws of nature and to the working people themselves. . . ."

"Scientists advocate mass extermination of those who have been 'unable to adapt themselves'—meaning, those who are poor. . . . Professors advocate cannibalism as the best means of adapting the population to the diminishing food supply."

The Dollar Culture

American culture is also a reflection of the coarse tastes and dwarfed mentality of the American people. The advanced technical level of the entertainment media in the US is offset by the crudeness of the content. Of television

(a medium still in the earliest stages of development behind the Iron Curtain), *Swiat* (Warsaw), July 11, 1954, wrote:

"One of our diplomats recently returned home from his post in the United States. He said that television has practically killed the concert and theater. In the evening the streets of New York and other American cities are deserted, because now people stay home watching television. The private owners of television companies give the public the cheapest possible entertainment. Fragments of plays and symphonies are intermingled with pictures of boxing matches and murder trials. Moreover the entire programs are presented as advertisements. Juliet's death in Shakespeare's great tragedy is accompanied by appeals to television fans: to 'Try So-and-So's lipstick; you will look radiant even in the coffin!'"

Trud (Sofia), December 11, 1953, wrote: "Ever since 20 million television sets were sold in the US, American children read less, go to bed later, and in the mornings go to school with their minds drugged from TV. . . . This invention is being used in the US, like radio and movies, to stupefy children as well as adults, not to improve their intelligence and morals."

An American correspondent, owner of a bookshop, wrote in *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), April 29, 1954, that "because of the educational system in the US, the Americans lack any interest in books." He explained:

"Television shows Americans so much shooting and bloodshed that soon all of us will go mad. More attention should be devoted to information and education. . . . The vast majority of Americans shows complete apathy toward literature and art. . . . Only 17 percent of the adult generation reads books. Interest in books also has disappeared because at present **everything which does not coincide with the government's point of view is being suppressed.** . . . Bookshops where serious literature is sold are empty, while the newsstands where pornography and comics are sold are jammed. . . ."

Of American literary tastes, the following comment was made in *Viata Romineasca*, February 1954: "They all read detective stories in paper-bound volumes with loud garish covers, one representing a dishevelled woman cringing with terror, another, the shadow of a black hand on a white wall, another one still, a giant spider. . . . A young and pretty American matron, obviously intoxicated, confesses to me that she is of French descent, although she has forgotten her ancestors' tongue, and that she loves good reading and 'real' literature. She tells me about the English translation of 'Nana' by a certain Zola, then about a wonderful book which is called something like 'Folter' whose author is 'Candies' (which in English means sweets). After she goes on about it a little longer, I realize that it must be Voltaire's *Candide*."

Toward alleged American vulgarization of the classics, the Communist writers adopt an air of fastidious distaste and contempt. *Trybuna Ludu*, April 13, 1954, described "Voltaire on Broadway" in this manner:

"The philosophical fable 'Candide' is now enriched by one more chapter: 'How Candide found his way to the US and how they settled matters with him there.'"

"Candide was not horsewhipped for his independent thinking. This method has become out of date. He was not put into prison because of his friendship with Franklin, one of the creators of the US Constitution. Instead, Candide underwent a contemporary torture, the so-called 'American way of life,' a torture unbearable to cultivated people. He was subjected to the process of vulgarization."

"As the New York correspondent of the newspaper *France-Soir* reports, Candide was made the main character of a new American 'operetta.' Cynical Broadway businessmen disemboweled the whole ideological, philosophical contents of the novel, annihilated its satirical sense, stuffed the skeleton with the howling and neighing of jazz and gave the product for the enjoyment of the bourgeois mob, who never heard of Voltaire. Who will recognize in the clownish couplets, in the leaps and bounds of the American chorus girls, the sparkling Voltaire satire aimed at the obscurantists and despots, at the persecutors of freedom and reason?"

"This handling of the great monuments of classical literature is nothing new in the practice of American art gangsters. They fabricated a 'comic strip' about a beautiful heiress who flung herself under the wheels of an express train because of a fatal love—this was . . . *Anna Karenina*, in 24 pages. They released a crime movie 'Who killed the old woman?' This was *Crime and Punishment* with the usual shots of policemen furiously pursuing a fleeing murderer. Now comes the turn of Voltaire's *Candide* in its American version: philosopher-optimist Pangloss is going to dance boogie-woogie to the accompaniment of the lispings moans of saxophones. . . ."

In the same vein is this account of "Verdi in Texas" from *Contemporarul* (Bucharest), January 14, 1955: "A touring opera company recently presented a rendition of Verdi's *Masked Ball* in several towns in Texas according to the American conception. In this production, the principal character appears as a Texas sheriff while the conspirators are masked like gangsters and carry machine-guns of the most modern type. At the same time, Verdi's music has been entirely jazzed up in some sort of operatic aberration. . . ."



Title: In the USA.

Caption: "I've come to solicit a donation for our theater . . ."
"All I'm interested in are theaters of war . . ."

Urzica (Bucharest), December 15, 1954

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), February 3, 1954, "reviewed" the New York theater:

"The theatrical season in New York opened a few months ago with great sadness and pessimism. The artistic value of the spectacles was beneath any criticism, even according to Broadway standards.

"The musical comedy *Carnival in Flanders* was performed for six days only. However a new record was set by the play [title untranslatable] in which the old theme of sensational murder and marital unfaithfulness was rehashed. Immediately after the first performance, the play was taken off.

"Of the new plays of this season, only *The Red Rainbow* was on the stage for more than two weeks, and that quite artificially: the author of this play is . . . malicious reactionary . . . generously financed by the Fascist organizations. . . . The American bourgeois theatre is afraid of showing the justice of life. . . . The fear of all kinds of commissions inquiring into 'un-American activity'; the fear of getting on the 'black list,' which means starvation, frightens management and artists from presenting to the public plays which propagate the ideals of peace, of progress, of humanism and freedom. . . .

"That is why all hopes for a better future in the theatre are now placed in [the passage of] a law to permit the sale of liquor in Broadway theatres. Futile hopes! Neither the glass of whiskey nor the cheap splendor of the brightly painted Broadway facades can hide the great crisis of the American bourgeois theater, the decay of the 'dollar-culture.' The present [1954] theatrical season on Broadway confirms it once more."

Decadent Art

New York art museums were under attack in *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), November 11, 1952:

"The Museum of Non-Objective Art was founded in 1929 with funds provided by the American billionaire Solomon B. Guggenheim and contains for the most part his collections. . . .

"Guggenheim, out of snobbery and not out of liking, had at first been a collector of the most prominent French artists of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Later, however, two German artists, Baroness Hilda von Rebay and Rudolf Bauer, convinced him that only pure association of triangles, circles and curves constitute 'true art,' created by an elite 'who will liberate the masses from the brutality of vulgar materialism.'

"The billionaire thus started to buy the pictures of Rebay and Bauer and the Museum owns a few hundred of them.

"All these 'Rebays' hanging on the Museum walls are incredibly vacuous. Canvas after canvas with the most aimless curves, combinations of circles and lines baptized with such mystifying names as 'White Fugue,' 'Cosmic Delights,' 'Symphony in Four Movements,' etc.

"The Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1921 by six wealthy art collectors, was further enriched by the Rockefeller fund. Among the often-changing board of trustees of this museum we find such names as Rockefeller, Ford, Marshall [Field?] and others.

"From the very first the Museum used to stifle all social tendencies among the American painters and pursued a

Desen de V. VASILIU



Open volume is marked "Cook Book."

Caption: McCarthy: "You're not very loyal. Why didn't you take this out?"

Policeman: "Well . . ."

McCarthy: "Don't give me any of that. Can't you see what it says? Salad 'a la Russe?'"

Urzica (Bucharest), October 15, 1954

policy of favoring artists inclined to cheap symbolism and abstract geometry.

"It is necessary to see the latest exhibition of 'Fifteen Americans' in order to comprehend the low level of American 'art.' One of the 'Fifteen,' exhibited a canvas the size of a large wall, its whole surface covered with black paint except for a small white crevice in the top right-hand corner. This 'masterpiece' is called—'Painting.' Also in the 'Fifteen' group is Jackson Pollock, whose works look like splashes of ink. Instead of a title there are figures on them: 'Number 3,' 'Number 7,' 'Number 30.'

"The sculpture represented at the exhibition is on the same level. Thus, for instance, the leading American sculptor . . . shows some pieces of wire and sheet metal joined in geometrical forms.

"The Museum of Modern Art is so powerful that from very inferior painters it can make artists, and sentence real painters and sculptors to civil death. Quite a number of galleries where the paltry products of the 'famous American painters' are sold, dutifully accept this policy of the Museum.

"Real artists in the US have no prospect whatsoever of making a living out of their artistic work. They earn their living by painting, for small sums of money, posters recommending, for example, Coca-Cola. . . ."



The Guardian of European Culture

Szpilki (Warsaw), February 20, 1955

Of the writer's fate in America, *Literaturen Front* (Sofia), April 15, 1954, wrote: "As soon as a writer in the US meets with success and recognition, he at once becomes the victim of the powerful machine of corruption. . . . [The writers] have to change their way of life, and in this process lies their downfall. In order to live luxuriously they have to write, and so they write rubbish and nonsense."

America Abroad

The corrosive effect of American influence in Western Europe is a persistent theme in the Communist press and constitutes one of the more obvious of Soviet divisive tactics. *Ludas Matyi* (Budapest), November 11, 1954, made this jibe at US relations with France:

"There are Americans who are touchingly concerned about the French and constantly look for things to add to the Gauls' happiness. American war materiel? . . . Here you are. German alliance? . . . By all means. Mr. Alan Young, the well-known television comedian, found serious shortcomings in French culture. In an interview he said the following: 'I can see in the eyes of the French children the tragedy caused by the lack of an American-style television program. All they can do after dinner is study their lessons; they have no horror pictures to watch. They go to sleep without the blessings of nightmare. Whole generations grow up without delinquency. Is this living? How could the French people be happy under such circumstances?'"

In a grimmer tone, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), wrote on November 17, 1954:

"According to the Western press, there are over 50,000 American soldiers and officers and a great number of American airports in England. . . . The American military bases in England are a direct threat to the security of the English people. . . . For this reason English public opinion is demanding the liquidation of the American

occupation. . . . In France, where the American military command has constructed a number of bases, garrisons and strategic highways, the Americans do not observe French laws. However, the more unbearable their behavior becomes, the greater is the protest movement against them . . .

"Almost every day newspapers in France, Italy, England and other countries publish news of the crimes, assaults on peaceful citizens and women, plunders, and scandals committed by American military personnel. The coming of Americans to England, writes the *Daily Worker*, was accompanied by an increase in the use of narcotics and the incidence of venereal disease. . . ."

Narodna Mladei (Sofia), March 31, 1954, reported that "hundreds of thousands of French families have no homes, or are compelled to live in unfit buildings. At the same time, new living quarters are being built for the American soldiers. . . ." *Trud* (Sofia), of December 11, 1953, wrote: "The school situation in France and Italy is desperate; there is almost no construction of schools, and war-damaged schools are not being rebuilt. The larger and better schools are occupied by American soldiers and teaching has been discontinued. . . . In the countries of Western Europe, a sharp struggle is being waged to defend schools from the American occupation Army, which settles down in the schools, driving away the children."

In *Mladezh* (Sofia), November 1954, an article called "The American Way of Life Creates Hooligans" contended that "The semi-feudal system is the reason for the behavior of American youth, who, when grownup, join terrorist organizations. Thus, it is natural that American youths [abroad] are egotistical, arrogant, uncultured, ready to kill and lynch. . . . The children are educated in militarism and chauvinism, in a spirit of superiority and hate for Negroes, Indians, foreigners. . . ."

Rabotnichesko Delo, February 10, 1954, derided American art abroad in an article called "The Americans in Paris":

"Until recently, the widely-advertised American film *Striptease Champions* was being shown in the movie houses on the large boulevards. In this film, a dancer appears on the screen and undresses until she is almost naked. This is the beginning. The same thing, however, happens in the middle, and also at the end. . . .

"The entire press, including the bourgeois one, replied to this American gem with a contemptuous silence. . . .

"Even smaller are the laurels which the 'American-parnasse' [Montparnasse] collects in the field of painting.

"The theatrical shows with which the Yanks are trying to help the French stage are a little more comprehensible than the paintings, but no less disgusting. In the current season one of the big Paris theatres is presenting the American play *Rope*. In this play, as in *Striptease Champions*, the plot is simple but full of meaning: two youths strangle their friend with a rope and hide his body in a trunk. On the trunk they spread out a meal and invite to dinner the relatives of the victim, who are not aware of what has happened. What are the motives of this bestial crime? There are none apparent. . . .

"For those who do not like the theater, even if it is American, the Yanks offer other attractions—criminal and

pornographic novels. . . . It is not necessary for us to enumerate the hundreds of other 'cultural' values which Americans export to Paris. . . . All these creative works have the same trademark: 'trash.' Americans in Paris are like the 'money-changers in the Temple.' The Yanks are trying to convert Frenchman into average Americans, for whom life consists only of money and sex."

A Change in Key?

"The average American is like the average man in other countries of the world. He is, in general, a positive man; he wants to live under normal conditions, in an environment of peace and profitable labor. . . . He does not want to leave America and invade other countries." These lines appeared in the January 2, 1955 issue of *Pravda* (Moscow) in an article conspicuous for its departure from the usual Communist statements about the US, in its temperate tone, and apparent attempt at being objective. The article is by American Communist writer, Michael Gold. It begins by describing the installment buying plan through which the average American acquires automobiles, refrigerators, houses, etc.: "The average American possesses more than the average European. But a number of things he owns are mortgaged in this way. . . ." Gold believes that what he calls "this game," these debts for goods of necessity and comfort, makes the average American "more worried and nervous than the average man in any other country." In America, which he calls "the richest country in the world," the people feel "the least security about their future."

Unemployment and juvenile delinquency are described, but in factual terms. Of unemployment, Gold says in part: "Workers gather in special sections of the city to look for a job. In these sections there are bars, coffee shops, and an employment bureau. A friend told me that a year ago I would not have seen 'a tenth this many people during working hours.'"

The most striking departure from the usual contentions is the appraisal of the average American (not only the "progressive" or the proletariat) as a "peace-loving and demanding" man. "The average American does not like militarism or military training . . . [he] simply wants to be left in peace to till his land and to expand his material horizons by buying 'on time' automobiles, refrigerators, houses, etc. He strives for material well-being and imperialist ambitions do not preoccupy him at all. . . ." At the time when the US had a monopoly on the atom bomb, "there was a minority which spoke with the recklessness of the insane: 'Why don't we throw a few bombs on the Russians and end this cold war?' The majority, however, simply ignored the military preparations and took no interest in military policy. . . . Now most Americans recognize . . . that the atom bomb is a two-edged weapon."

In Gold's opinion there exists in modern America much instability and a sense of uneasiness. He declares that "we live in an environment of tension and anxiety," but he believes that it has a recognizable source: "It is not surprising that the average American feels confused and uncertain. [He feels] that the American people are expected to



Title: In accordance with a law recently passed by the Turkish parliament, Americans in Turkey have the right of extraterritoriality.

Caption: "Why is everybody avoiding him?"

"He is enjoying 'extraterritoriality' to the full."

Urzica (Bucharest), November 30, 1954

do something about humanity. His feelings and goals are not yet formulated in positive political actions. . . .

"Our people are democrats from birth. When democracy is confronted by a crisis, they act. Our last elections proved that the consciousness of the people is beginning to develop. No candidate can win if he is for a new war. Only the sacred word 'peace' can attract the sympathies of the people."

The article might be, and in some ways was, a propaganda mutation; the flow of vitriolic platitudes from the Satellites has not ceased or really diminished. Yet on March 4, Radio Moscow broadcast a program in which two Soviet citizens praised American culture:

"Some of our American listeners have asked about the attitude of the Soviet people toward the American people. We have two Soviet citizens to reply to this question. Piotr Gushin, an electrician, speaks first:

"I have the warmest recollections of the American people among whom I lived for nearly two years, from 1946 to 1948. I visited several American cities and saw the happy people. During the war we had fought against our common enemy, and it was only natural that after the

war we wished to understand each other still better and remain good friends. I met many Americans who told me they were interested in the life of the Russian workers. Our feeling toward the American people have been nothing but friendly. We are interested in American technology and my co-workers here read many American technical magazines.

"I picked up a good deal of knowledge while in the United States and I have continued to follow all the news about the United States in our papers. . . . I know that the majority of the American people wish to live in peace and happiness, as do I. . . ."

The Dean of the Department of Slavic Literature at Moscow University, Professor Roman Tovarín, followed with this statement:

"Classic American literature and the works of modern American writers are well read in the Soviet Union. The works of Cooper, Stowe, Longfellow, Whitman, and many other American authors have been printed in large editions many times. They are usually sold out a few days in advance of their appearance. Publishing houses for children's books have turned increasingly to American classics because they know that there is a great demand for such books among young readers. A good many novels have been dramatized and shown in children's theaters. . . .

"Soviet readers are familiar with the works of Jack London, Benjamin Franklin, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Bret Harte, Hawthorne, and many others. . . . A very popular author in the Soviet Union is O. Henry. . . .

"The English language and Western literature are major subjects in colleges. Soviet students quite often write their theses on the works of American authors. Quite a few of our postgraduate students specialize in the history of American literature. Soviet researchers studying American literature have noticed that American writers and critics also appreciate Russian literature. They are aware of the many articles and essays that have appeared in the US in which Russian and Soviet literature have been given a friendly and sincere appraisal."

Patterns and Conclusions

These quotations represent an extensive sampling of what millions of people behind the Iron Curtain hear about alleged present conditions in the United States. Most of these allegations are so far-fetched in their exaggerations, distortions and plain falsehoods that it might at first appear as if the Communists were overplaying their hands. In part, this is probably true. In the Soviet Union, with its xenophobic pride and long history of isolation from the West, the Communists can exploit an audience ignorance and naivete which is not quite the same as that in the Satellites, where knowledge and direct experience of Western reality has not yet been effaced by time and the artificial isolation imposed by the Communists.

It must be remembered, however, that even the East European captive countries have now languished under Communist domination for some 10 years. A new generation has matured, largely conditioned by Communist indoctrination. Old values have been kept alive by the family, the church, and a normal, emotional attachment to the traditional past. Western counterpropaganda, from radio, balloons, and otherwise, has also helped to restore perspectives. But Communist strength (and weakness too) lies in both the Big Lie and the Complete Lie. They falsify everything, not only about us but also about themselves, and they do it on a scale commensurate with the all-embracing nature of their dictatorship. Their distortion of our national life is an integral part of their system: it is not only a means to arouse their peoples against us, but also a mechanism designed to lull their peoples into accepting their regimes. The continued existence of an Iron Curtain speaks more eloquently than words of the insecurity of the psychological hold of Communism over the countries of Eastern Europe, but continued isolation may yet create an image of the West which the captive peoples will credit if only because no other image is available to them.

National Defence

"What do you think of our soldiers?" asked one spectator of another at a military parade in Budapest.

"Splendid, invincible—just like those of the glorious Soviet Army," the other replied mechanically.

"And our weapons?"

"First class—just like those of the glorious Soviet Army."

"And the uniforms?"

"Very smart—just like those of the glorious Soviet Army."

"That's just the trouble," said the first reflectively. "How are we going to tell them from the enemy?"

As They See Themselves

"Soviet society . . . is built and constructed and directed entirely consciously and therefore presents entirely special, exclusive demands to all participants in construction of a new life. . . . The fundamental position of Soviet world outlook [is] that our Soviet society is an immeasurably higher social order than all previous and contemporary forms of social life known to us. . . ."

Pravda (Moscow) November 2, 1946

ACCORDING to the early Marxists, changes in the economic structure of society heralded by the emancipation of the proletariat were to eliminate class divisions, result in the withering away of the State, and bring about a paradise on earth. While the Communists still hold out to the people the promise of an idyllic life and maintain that the repression resulting from class divisions has been abolished, the concept of the State in the "Socialist" utopia has undergone a radical change. In 1930, Stalin underscored this change when he said: "We are for the withering away of the State. But at the same time, we stand for strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, which constitutes the most powerful, the mightiest of all governing powers that ever existed. Is this contradictory? Yes, it is. But this contradiction is life, and it reflects completely the Marxian dialectic."

The "Marxian dialectic" as it is currently proclaimed in the Satellites is based on the theory that private and State interests are now identical, and that this identity of interests is reflected in the people's new political, social and economic attitude. It is claimed, for instance, that the worker in Communist society, freed from "capitalist exploitation," has become an independent and zealous producer who is spurred on in his efforts by the knowledge that the fruits of his labor belong to him. Thus, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), August 9, 1954, declared: "Socialist society has only two classes—the working class and the toiling peasants—which are united in an unbreakable alliance; the relations [formerly] based on exploitation have been changed into brotherly collaboration, friendly, mutual help. . . . The realization that they are working not for their exploiters but for themselves inspires the popular masses to labor achievements and creates among them noble socialist competition."



"Who will carry out this vast programme?" was the caption accompanying the above photograph in *The Six Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Warsaw* (Warsaw), January 1951.

The Communists say, in effect, that work in the "Socialist" State has become a matter of honor and glory, an expression of man's power and nobility rather than of his enslavement and degradation. Further, they insist that a man's economic position is determined strictly by his achievements and that hard work is both a duty and a pleasure, because it serves the interests of society as a whole and those of the individual with respect to both his material and spiritual condition. *Sztandar Mlodych* (Warsaw), January 29, 1955, gave partial expression to this theory when it stated: "In socialist competition only he can win who works better, who has learned his profession better. In socialist competition, the worker appears as a free creator and conscious co-ruler of the fatherland."

Even more illuminating was a September 1951 *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest) editorial on work discipline. The article claimed that "Socialist discipline," as contrasted to discipline in capitalist societies, was self-imposed and gladly assumed in the interest of the Communist goal. It also implied that good work in the "Socialist" State was a matter of conscience rather than pressure, and that, therefore, such attitudes as lateness, sloppiness, and disobedience, formerly justified expressions of rebellion against exploiters, now represent hostile acts against the people and deserve to be punished:

"In a society based on exploitation, supervisors and slave drivers enforce discipline through cruelty. . . . The greatest

regulator of discipline in capitalist society is fear of unemployment. . . . In contrast, socialist discipline is imposed on workers by themselves, voluntarily. . . . Socialist discipline is hard, iron discipline. . . . This iron discipline demands that the individual subordinate his aims and desires to the interests of society. . . . Hard and iron discipline requires that . . . orders be carried out to the letter. The Stakhanovite greatly enhances his chances of reaching his goals by not tolerating laxness . . . and by obeying his superior absolutely. . . . In the struggle waged for socialist work discipline, the state of the proletarian dictatorship also applies the weapon of punishment against those undermining discipline and breaking the socialist order. . . . However, these punishments have an educational value and their strict but fair application may contribute greatly to the further development of socialist work discipline."

With the working class allegedly the ruling class, the need for contracts and organizations defending worker interests no longer exists. It is claimed that with the advent of "Socialism," the worker has been insured against unemployment as well as social and wage abuses, and has been guaranteed a dignified status in society. On the basis of this "transformation" the role of trade unions has changed. As *Prace* (Prague), October 13, 1954, indicated: "The interests of the state and the workers are identical. For this reason, the trade union movement is interested in seeing that the authority of state organs is strengthened and trade unions therefore fully support their activity. In our state, we are already creating [conditions] which workers and revolutionary unions in capitalist countries are still obstinately fighting for." The same theory was advanced by Vilem Kun in *Prace* (Prague), July 30, 1954:

"The activity of trade unions is no longer directed against the state; on the contrary, they give full support to strengthening the state. . . . This is an entirely different state, in which all power is in the hands of the working class. . . . So that the working people live better, continually earn more, get more for their wages and live more comfortable lives . . . it is necessary to assure work results with good management, with the growth of productivity and production. . . . The trade unions are thus the faithful helpers of the Communist Party, directing the new society, which leads the country along the path to economic and social prosperity . . . to the victory of Communism."

Although the Communists admit that utopia is still a long way off, they see themselves as having improved immeasurably the status of the worker. As indicated above, the abolition of unemployment forms the well-spring of Communist boasts about the elimination of economic insecurity, fear and frustration. Ignoring the fact that one type of frustration is easily replaced by another, that forced industrialization has been one of the causes of growth in urban employment, and that captive labor is being used on a large scale, the Communists tend to attribute full employment to the "merits" of the system. They have not only guaranteed the right to work, but they have also raised work to the level of a duty—so much so, in fact, that they look disapprovingly on loafers, and frequently punish those who quit their jobs without "justifiable reason." The new "work security" extends not merely to un-

skilled workers but covers professionals and technicians as well. Thus *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 4, 1953, wrote:

"The country is looking forward to receiving the [new graduates]. Ideas conceived in the silence of long summer evenings are not empty dreams; they are firm and realistic plans which grow out of the knowledge of present needs. . . . Every university graduate knows that they are waiting for him at his new place of work. The horror of unemployment has disappeared in the distance; we know about it only from old books, from the reminiscences of elder generations. . . . From the present capitalist world we frequently receive news of young engineers or professors who took jobs as waiters, street cleaners or workers. You Hungarian intellectuals, who can choose from among many beautiful jobs, find it hard to imagine that there is a world, a social order in which the problem is what to do with 'too many' professional people. The world has changed. Intellectuals are free and clean. They are not crippled by the wild circumstances of a distorted society."

Other accomplishments cited by the Communists include the "annihilation of starvation salaries set according to the employer's ideas, and the cruel exploitation of youngsters and women" (*Contemporarul* [Bucharest], August 20, 1954), as well as a general improvement in working conditions. *Prace* (Prague), April 4, 1955, comparing the worker's situation in 1937 and 1954, praised the establishment of factory cafeterias and creches, the rise of women employees, and the possibilities of a yearly vacation in the "Socialist" State:

April 1937

"The average mo. wage of a worker 492 kcs. At work everyone ate what he had brought with him.
"One member of the family worked and was glad he had work.
"Statistics show 503,600 unemployed and 176,348 others who also were without work but instead of remaining alive by doles were supported by trade unions.
"A year of relative business prosperity, but the living standard continued to decline.
"Vacations as long as you like, but unpaid."

April 1954

"Average mo. wage 1,256 kcs. Tasty, cheap and warm food in plant dining halls [subsidized] by the plant.
"Generally the wife also works. There is enough work for everyone. There is even a shortage of people.
"Agriculture, mines and foundries are calling for new workers.
"A year of further development. The living standard continues to rise.
"14-30 days paid vacation. Vacations for hundreds of thousands in the most beautiful parts of the country.
"For children of working mothers, nurseries."

Vacation privileges, particularly those given by the State to distinguished workers, are one of the most highly publicized features of Communist life. Descriptions of vacations not only consist of comparisons between past and present, but inevitably contain expressions of gratitude by happy workers who are blessed with the possibility of living in a "welfare" State. Thus *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 14, 1954, quoted a sixty-five-year-old man as saying: "Thanks to People's Poland I was able to see in reality and not in pictures what the mountains are like." Similarly,

Wola Ludu (Warsaw), 1952, printed the comment of a shockworker, who was awarded a two-week holiday in Warsaw, where he was taken on excursions and given accommodations at the former Landowners' Club: "Could I ever have dreamed of having such a holiday before the war, or of living in such a magnificent house? Thanks to the People's government, hundreds of humble persons like myself can reap the benefits from the great achievements of the working people—the holiday resorts—and live in a house where, during the time of the *Sanacja*, big landowners and capitalists enjoyed themselves."

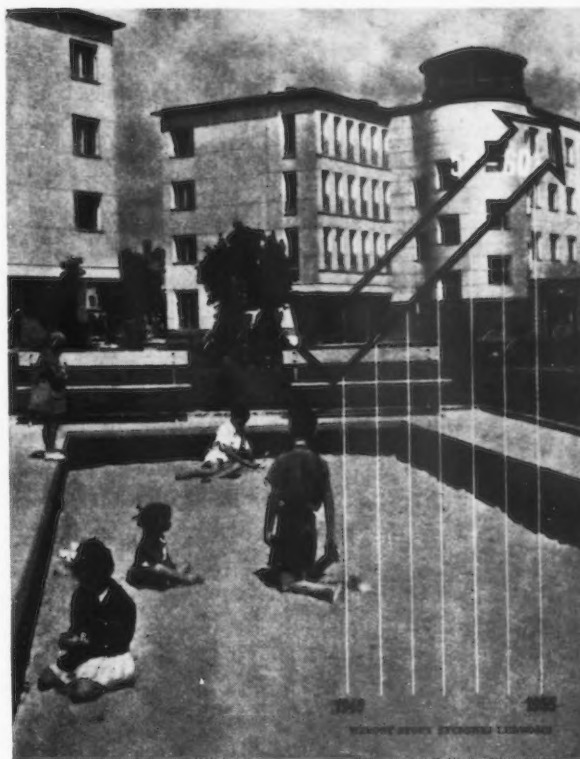
Just as the worker's attitude towards his job is said to have changed, so has his attitude towards recreation. Vacations no longer constitute a form of escape from worldly cares but an opportunity to "exchange experiences" about progressive work methods. *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 30, 1953, for instance, described the vacation of a group of working peasants who had been rewarded for overfulfilling their delivery quotas:

"The peasants . . . talked of the wonderful, friendly spirit which developed among them, even on the first day. They felt almost like brothers. During these two weeks, their friendship grew even deeper, [for] even if they came from all parts of the country, their feelings, interests and plans were similar. They enjoyed talking about their work, about the radios, bicycles, and books they received as rewards for overfulfillment of delivery obligations. They also discussed how to eliminate mistakes, how to teach their colleagues, how to influence the negligent to carry out their civic duties. They exchanged experiences and pondered how they could learn more, and discussed what more advanced methods could be applied. Even though they were enjoying the vacation, they often thought of home, eager to make use of the things they had just learned. . . . [The vacationists wrote to Matyas Rakosi:] 'Our ardently beloved Comrade Rakosi, we, the working peasants vacationing at Parad, want to express our gratitude to the Party and government for the wonderful days here. Before the liberation we couldn't even think of vacation. In those days, the capitalists, overlords and bankers enjoyed the sun here in Parad. But those times are over. The glorious Soviet Army brought us our long-awaited freedom, and since then we enjoy the protection and assistance of our Party.'"

Political Structure

Although Marx's vision of a "classless" society, or more accurately a single-class society, remains an ostensible part of the theoretical trappings of modern Communism, and a justification for their "revolutionary reorganization" of society, Communist reality is anything but classless. The avowed goal of control of the means of production for the people by the people has turned out to be control by the Party for the hierarchy. Thus, the original Marxist theory has been radically altered by "Leninist substitutism": substitution of the Communist Party for the people; substitution of the Central Committee for the Party; substitution of the Politburo for the Central Committee. Finally, Stalin carried the process to its ultimate conclusion by substitution of the dictator for the Politburo.

In short, the original scheme of the people inheriting



The caption beneath the diagram states: "Increase in the Living Standard of the Population." *The Six Year Plan* (Warsaw) 1952. (Arrow indicates 60% increase for 1949-55.)

the earth by an "inevitable process of history" became a dream of the class-conscious elite holding it in escrow for them, and degenerated into a nightmare of dictatorship. To camouflage this victory of a minority over the majority, of dictator over minority and majority, official propaganda, using Marxist terminology, has long sought to make the Party's interests—more precisely, those of the leader or leaders—pass off as identical with those of the people. Hence opposition to the dictatorship is automatically opposition to the people, and all that the Party does is automatically the people's wish and aspiration. Thus *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 5, 1952, declared:

"All that the people's rule does it does in the interests of the people, and in the name of the people, through organs of rule which have grown from the people, by giving millions of citizens, previously treated like manure by the old owning class, participation in State rule. That is why our people's rule is a truly national rule, capable of safeguarding Poland's independence, development and happiness."

The Communists see their state as dynamic: they not only claim that the people have created the government, but that the government has created and is creating the people. *Lupta de Clasa* (Bucharest), August 1954, claimed, in effect, that the "democratic people's regime accomplishes democracy" by liquidating human exploitation. "The peo-

ple's democracy has granted people rights hitherto unheard of. . . . It has given the working man the possibility of becoming a cultured man, of enjoying all the benefits of civilization, while yesterday he was merely human raw material fit only to be exploited." These rights, guaranteed constitutionally, are said to include the following, listed in *Scinteia* (Bucharest), September 24, 1952:

"The right to work, the right to rest, the right to social insurance in old age, and the right to education have become realities in our country. The same must be said of rights and freedoms such as woman's equality with man, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, etc., [which] are inscribed . . . in our Constitution."

The political freedoms granted by the Communist state are perhaps best illustrated in their "achievements" with regard to the press.

Press

"In our country, contrary to capitalist countries, there is freedom of the press," *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia) declared on May 5, 1954, extolling the virtues of the Bulgarian political system. This freedom, as described by the Communists, is allegedly based on the fact that the press is no longer controlled by a few wealthy individuals but has become the property and the expression of the "working people." Party control of the press, which presumably is tantamount to popular control, is said to ensure the people the right to know the truth and to voice their own opinions. Even more important, it ensures the ideals of "Socialism" and prevents any attack on them. *Kurier Codzienny* (Warsaw), February 23, 1952, defined the Communists' concept of freedom of the press when it said:

"Elimination of private property of two modern powers forming public opinion—radio and press—which always goes together with the social property of another power—the cinema—ensures the realization of the ideals of peace, brotherhood of nations, transformation of the community into a socialist community, in which there is no room for internal struggles, in which there is no room for exploiters and where there are no exploited."

The elimination of "internal struggle,"—a rather apt commentary on the Communist concept of freedom—has allegedly permitted the people to "criticize all that is harmful" and to see their aspirations "mirrored in thousands of publications." In view of this "transformation," Radio Bucharest, May 5, 1955, claimed that "we can speak of freedom only now, after setting up the people's power. . . . What freedom existed in our country when newspapers were in the hands of the high bourgeoisie, when workers' papers had to be printed secretly, disseminated secretly, and read at the risk of life? Today, printing houses and paper factories are boons of the people. . . . This means an effective guarantee of freedom of the press. . . . Being in the hands of the people, Romanian newspapers express their interests and aspirations."

By destroying the power of the bourgeoisie and suppressing anti-Communist opinions, "freedom" not only has been insured, but the contents of newspapers and periodicals have undergone a radical change, and journalists no longer are doomed to write "chronicles and sensational reports" but have the "privilege" as well as the duty of registering the accomplishments of Socialism:

"What did they write in the past in the papers of the overlords? What did the newspaper hacks of the capitalist papers write about? We find on the yellowed pages anti-



These posters were taken from *Beke és Szabadság* (Budapest), November 1953. From left to right, the posters are titled, "With the Five Year Plan for Socialist Hungary," "We Shall Defend the Peace," "Hail April 4, the Seventh Anniversary of our Country's Liberation,"

Soviet propaganda, articles against the workers, teaching hatred of the working peasants, alternating with sensational reports, arousing the meanest instincts and serving to stupefy the people. . . . Not a line was devoted to the worries of the working people, the increasing poverty, and not even to the subjects of art, science and culture. Today, every issue of the paper is a wonderful demonstration of the progress and changes in our country. The newspaper of today is not only a chronicle, it is an effective organ in the building of socialism which teaches and educates. Journalists have never had a more glorious task than at present. . . . They are present when great factories start operations . . . or when smiling children of workers take over the apartments of counts, factory owners and exploiters."

(*Szabad Nep* [Budapest], February 1, 1953)

Elections

Perhaps the most illuminating insight into the Communist concept of democracy is provided by their discussions of election campaigns. Like all achievements in the "Socialist" State, elections are said to demand an "energetic struggle," although the Communists have facilitated matters by eliminating what they call "unhealthy competition" between parties. The Communists see their own elections as occasions for demonstrating national unity and faith in the Party, and the battles which ensue are not battles among candidates, but against enemy propaganda, low production, underfulfillment of State plans, and other dangers which threaten the "victory of Socialism." Thus *Társadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), April-May 1953, wrote:

"Can we speak at all of election battles in our country, where the election is no longer a competition of parties, representing the interests of various classes . . . ? The election campaign in our country is a united stand in the in-

terests of the working people . . . the manifestation of the unity between the . . . Party and the people. . . . And yet it is an election battle, a battle involving greater masses than before, a more extensive and tougher battle. . . . The defeated enemy attacks with even greater bitterness and more treachery. Our enemies try to create confusion in production and supplies and then make use of these difficulties to . . . create unrest. . . . At times they seek to create fear with their wild rumors, and on other occasions they spread piously pacifist sentiments in order to lull our vigilance. . . . For this reason, the election battle is identical with the battle waged for the exposure and destruction of the enemy."

The Communists state that their elections are not only evidence of their democratic way of life, but also testify to the stability of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the Party is always re-elected, Communists see their system as providing a "firm basis for undisturbed administration," a situation which, they say, furthers national development:

"After the elections . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes even firmer. . . . This fact fills our people with great satisfaction, particularly when they look at capitalist countries torn by the monster of economic crisis, unemployment and . . . poverty. It is very profitable, for instance, to compare our stable government with the chronic government crisis in France. While our system assures a firm basis for undisturbed administration, the French government crises unmistakably prove that the capitalist social system suffers the agonies of a general crisis. Our firm and secure position, happy life and every newly won victory increase the enthusiasm of the masses . . . in capitalist and colonial countries, and spurs them on in their heroic battle for peace, freedom, national independence and democracy."

(*Társadalmi Szemle* [Budapest], June 1953)



ASSZONYOK, LÁNYOK
CSALÁDJAINK BIZALOM BOLDOG JÖVŐJÉT
ÉPÍTSEK EGYÜTT! GYERMEK DOLGOZNI
AZ ÉPÍTŐIPARBA!



MÁJUS 17-EN
A NÉPFRONTRA SZAVAZUNK



MAGYAR BÉKEKONGRESSZUS
1952 NOVEMBER 22-23

"Women, Girls! Let's Build a Happy Future for our Families and Country. Come to Work in the Construction Industry," "On May 17, We Shall Vote for the People's Front," and "Hungarian Peace Congress, November 22-23, 1952."

Minorities

Communists claim that they have abolished all types of racial and national discrimination. Regime propaganda organs maintain that the rights and traditions of minority groups, such as Turks, Germans and Ukrainians, are not only respected, but that all such groups have an equal status in the new order. *Lupta de Clasa* (Bucharest), August 1954, thus claimed that "all policies of national or racial discrimination are completely unknown in the popular democratic state . . . [which] has ensured all freedoms and liberties to the national minorities on a level equal to that of the Romanian people. [They] have the right and the practical possibility of studying in their mother tongue, developing their national culture, and having their say in the leadership of the community."

The equality accorded minority groups is manifested in regime efforts to re-educate them in the Socialist spirit and draw them into the Communist fold. Thus *Cesta Miru* (Liberec), June 6, 1953, described the wholesome cultural life of citizens of German nationality living in the Czechoslovak People's Republic. "Last year," the newspaper wrote, "a great number of lectures were organized for them, at which participants became acquainted with the significance of Comrade Gottwald's trip to the German Democratic Republic, and with the various forms of the fight for peace, as well as with the great success of Gottwald's Five Year Plan, and the main sections of our constitution."

Uneducated minorities receive the same attention, as is evident from the following excerpt in the Czechoslovak press about travelling library services to a group of gypsies:

"The chairman of the [gypsy youth league] group spoke about how his group began to work and how they learned to write and read in night school. . . . It is then that we [the travelling library] pledged to help this group. . . . When they discovered that we were bringing them the promised books, their faces lit up and they attempted to climb into our truck. . . . The books are written in large print and having tempting titles. . . . The first book that fell into their hands was . . . 'Sayings about Lenin.' The gypsy, Pavla Cerna, after looking at a magazine showing the flowering life in the USSR on one page, and a group of American soldiers in Korea on the other, remarked: 'This is beauty.' But Stefan corrected her immediately: 'What are you saying? The beauty is only here, in the Soviet Union, but there you have war, and what is there beautiful about that?'"

Women

"We must explain widely the question concerning the complete equality between men and women in our country, comparing it to the situation of women in capitalist countries."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), November 20, 1953

The Communists list women's emancipation as one of the chief accomplishments of the "workers' state." From a weak and abused labor minority, women have become men's equals in the world of work, and are considered to have a leading role in building the new society. The working



A mother participating in political affairs. Photo appeared on the November 1954 front cover of the magazine *Klub* (Prague).

woman, in fact, has become the Communist ideal, and the domesticated creature, concerned only with family and household chores, is looked down upon as a remnant of capitalist psychology and enslavement. Although the Communists emphatically maintain that theirs is the only society where woman is not discriminated against, it is clear that, by and large, the equality consists in forcing women to work as hard as men. The Communists' prime aim is to increase the working force to expand rapidly industrial and farm production.

As usual, this "equality" is attributed to the annihilation of capitalism, rather than to specific economic needs or to general social conditions now prevailing in many parts of the industrial, modern world. Thus *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 12, 1952, declared: "It is not accidental that now woman has rights equal to those of man, the right of equal work for equal pay, the right of dignity, the right to obtain rewards. This is possible because sovereignty now belongs to the people and not to parasites and exploiters who purposely kept wives and daughters of workers and peasants in ignorance." In connection with this "emancipation," Communists frequently cite figures

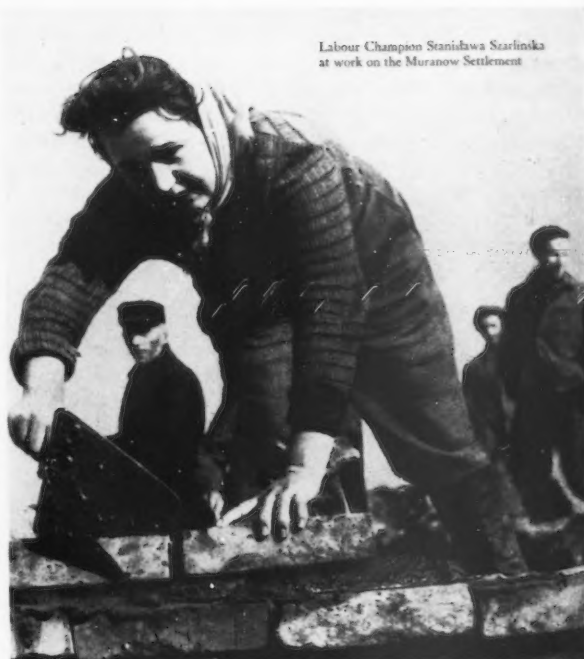
on the number of women engaged in political and economic life. *Prace* (Prague), March 1, 1955, declared that 80 women are members of the National Assembly and the Slovak National Council; 20,812 are members of regional, district and local national councils; and over 100,000 work as functionaries on women's committees: "We have about 90,000 woman functionaries in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement." Similarly, *Zemedelsko Zname* (Sofia), March 3, 1955, stated that more than half the workers in Bulgarian industry were women. "More than 550,000 work on collective farms, 28 are presidents of collectives, 3,174 are members of the collectives' administrative and control councils and 1,948 are brigade leaders."

The role the Communists assign to working women in rural areas was suggested by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), May 10, 1955, in an editorial urging their participation in the harvest: "We must not forget that women gain self-respect by cooperative work. The woman who takes part in work for the community also shows her faith in the collective farm, and will understand that her own happiness is closely linked with the prosperity of the greater family, the kolkhoz." In cities, the Communist woman allegedly finds her greatest satisfaction in the factory, and a full-time job neither deters her from raising a family nor from fulfilling her household tasks. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), March 6, 1955, in an editorial entitled: "Mother—A Worker," paid tribute to a typical "Socialist" woman:

"In one of the shops of the Red October Plant in Gottwaldov, a quality worker, Anezka Dvorakova, works. Tire tubes of all sizes pass through her sensitive fingers, and by a mere touch she can distinguish which piece is good and which is a reject. A long row of cartons is proof that daily she inspects about a thousand tire tubes. And yet, this a woman of small stature, of graying hair; there is a smile on her face while she works, even though she knows that after the end of the shift a load of work still awaits her. She is the mother of four children and her work in the household takes up a lot of time. . . . Before she even has time to exchange her work coat for her apron, she can be seen turning about the stove as skillfully as in the shop. Anezka Dvorakova is that efficient Czech mother, who looks as if she had no other trouble than that connected with the household and upbringing of her children."

That women under Communism love their work is a common claim in the Satellite press, and from the tenor of numerous editorials it appears that for many women this "love" is the only thing which distinguishes their former existence from the present one. For instance, the case of a widow was described by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), October 23, 1952, in an editorial which could have been entitled *From Work to Work*:

"Since January 1, Mrs. Istvan Vajda accomplished 435 work units. This enables her, an elderly woman, to give her three children all they need. This is what Mrs. Vajda says: 'What was the fate of a widow like myself in the past? If the liberation had not come, my children, too, would have had to apply the words of the folk poem to me: At night she worked, during the day she scrubbed—oh, how difficult life was for us. But now, since I have



Labour Champion Stanisława Szczyńska at work on the Muranów Settlement

Women at Work. Photograph from the section on Socialist Competition in *The Six Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Warsaw* (Warsaw), January 1951.

joined the kolkhoz I have become a stockbreeder and I have a wonderful life and my children have everything they need."

The New Life

"We now grow free. New horizons open before us. There is no fear of hunger, misery, prisons."

Narodna Mladej (Sofia), May 14, 1954

Communists see themselves as a happy society moving steadily forward to utopia and looking backwards only to measure the distance gained. In all their propaganda, they describe the past as a black time in which degeneracy, misery, poverty and oppression prevailed, the true horror of which can best be estimated by Communist achievements in the past decade. In providing numerous glimpses into the "terrible world of yesterday," the Communists are not merely indulging in obvious self-praise; their aim is to win the gratitude of the young who have known nothing but Communist life, and the allegiance of the old, who require this type of corrective education lest they harbor an undesirable nostalgia for the past. Furthermore, the Communists' technicolor vision of present-day reality grows remarkably bright when displayed against the dark background of earlier times, and such contrasts are apparently deemed necessary to silence those who ungratefully grumble about shortages and deprivations in the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The official assumption is that, when given the proper historical view, such malcontents will come to see their current troubles as negligible in the light of suffering known in former years.

The new life created by the new State is alleged to be one in which the people are constantly building, raising their living standards and gaining a larger share in the world's goods. Thus *Literature Front* (Sofia), September 9, 1954, paid tribute to the glorious present: "The fruits of our people's labor are innumerable. Their creations, which cannot be described in a few words, are unforgettable. . . . We are not in the habit of exaggerating. . . . Towns and villages rejuvenated with thousands of new buildings; shop windows bright with many colors. To live has become easier, happier."

Nowhere is the portrait of the happy life under "Socialism" portrayed more vividly than in descriptions of the activities of school children. Those who have known an ugly childhood "marred by the ills of capitalism" are allegedly reduced to tears at the sight of today's well-dressed boys and girls, whose only care in the world is to study, and whose lives are now free and joyful. This, at least, was the claim made by MP Jarmila Glazarova, who lightened the atmosphere at a recent discussion of the 1955 Czechoslovak State Budget by recounting the following experience she had during a visit to a provincial school:

"I was talking to pupils of the eighth grade in a little town in the northern part of the Czech provinces. . . . Suddenly, the classroom door opened, and a small young woman, the cultural adviser to a factory making children's food, entered. Everyone knew her, because the factory is in close contact with the school. The children grew quiet. Their eyes expectantly followed Marie to the podium. 'Dear children,' she said quietly, raising her hand in which she held a white envelope. The children waited. They knew the courageous Marie well. She heads the factory's boarding school and chorus. Marie's lips tightened. Her hand fell to her side. Before we knew what was happening, she ran from the room. I found her in the hall . . . shaking and crying. What had happened?"

"The factory, proud of the success of its school, had made a collection. The workers had tried to make the children's lives even more joyful. Marie was supposed to hand over the envelope and say a few words. She decided to tell the children how she had never been able to go on a school hike. She was the poorest child in the class from the poorest cottage at the edge of town. The father was an invalid, the mother paralyzed, and the younger sister very ill. Every day the same thing—going to school and back to take care of the house, to wash and carry water. Never any joy, rest or play. Shabby clothes, large, old shoes that belonged to adults. . . . She wanted to tell the children about this, so that they would understand the change that had occurred, how easy and beautiful it had become for them who did not know poverty and humiliation. They sing and are beautifully dressed; they are going to Macocha [mountains with underground grottoes in Moravia] and the workers are giving them all this money for a special treat.

"Looking at the children's happy and smiling faces, sorrow took hold of her because of her sad childhood, and she was unable to utter a word. As I held her in my arms, the entire miracle of change went through my mind. The humiliated and wronged child has become an important worker and functionary. She has two lovely children and lives in an airy, decent apartment. The teacher who looked

on her own sorrow with sad and helpless eyes works among well-dressed, well-fed, lovely children, who have no other care but to learn, sing as birds, and thus contribute to the joy in the factories that surround them."

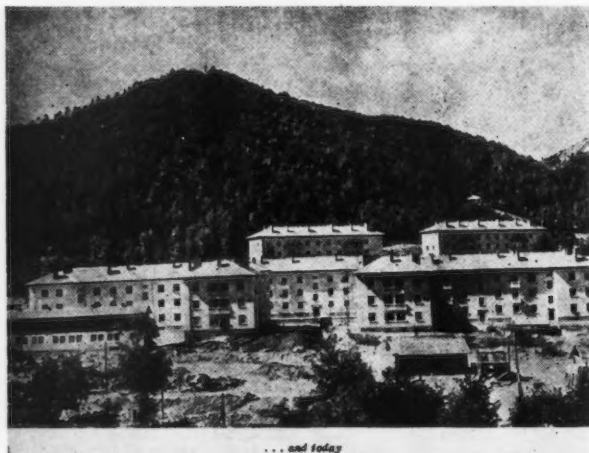
(*Rude Pravo* [Prague], March 24, 1955)

Joy is apparently the predominant emotion not only of children but of all people living in the "People's Democracies." According to the Party press, the Communists have banished evil from their realm and created a world of love and kindness. They have done away with police oppression and human degradation; they have redeemed man through Marxist education and have given him light, air, fuel, decent living conditions and hope and security for the future. Drunks and thieves no longer hold sway in poorer sections of town, and the police exist chiefly to prevent traffic accidents, crime being exceptional, mainly a thing of the past; social snobbery has been obliterated, and professionals and workers march proudly hand in hand along the Communist road; the baser, irrational passions have been subdued by Communist teachings, and the fear and cruelty of a bygone era have been replaced by love of humanity and confidence in the future. Such, at least, was the impression created by *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), August

How Fast Our Landscape Is Changing!



Rudozem — in the old days. . .



. . . and today

Pictures from the fortnightly review *Bulgaria Today* (Sofia), November 5, 1953.

25, 1954, in a sentimental article describing the "transformation" of a Sofia street. The writer recalls earlier years, when the street was "narrow and dark, semi-Asiatic," with oriental stores, small offices, and numerous market stalls where washerwomen and servants were "slowly fading away":

"I remember our street with the small movie house where people were taught to steal and cheat. I remember this paved street of . . . shoeshine men, petty thieves, and vagabonds who slept in the debris of buildings. I also remember the old church, with its even older priest, who said Mass in his weak voice for the salvation of humanity. . . . Next to this old church was the smoky tavern in which watery wines were sold and in which beatings occurred every evening. And the tavern owner, a husky peasant, threw the vagabonds out, and they slid on the sidewalk swearing at the women and girls and fell asleep right on the pavement. . . . I remember this street where policemen and agents ran about in the night, their whistles and gun shots piercing the air, shooting at people's sons, people who wanted more air and light for their street. That was ten years ago."

As contrasted with this "memory," the writer describes the new world:

"Now, every morning a militia man stands on our street directing traffic. . . . He stands on our street until 10 P.M. That is why accidents do not occur. . . . On the site of old, ruined buildings, new ones with stores, clubs, and bookshops have sprung up. . . . Our mothers and wives spend the day . . . with their children in the park. Though cart drivers live on our street, mothers do not have to watch the children when they cross the street. . . . The cart drivers . . . now supply the people with fuel for the winter and are greatly respected. . . . The old tavern has disappeared. Only the movie house remained, and next to it a restaurant was built where an orchestra plays in the evenings. In the movie house our children see new pictures. They watch many educational films. They are taught beautiful things. Adults are also being educated. That is why the cinema is so well-attended."

"And have you passed through our street on holidays? On those days when there are flowers all over, when posters hang from the windows . . . when flags are more than window displays, and when music is heard from every open window? . . . To the sounds of music, the driver [walks] with the doctor, the factory worker with the child of the old washerwoman, the office employee with the worker. . . . Here we see no discrimination . . . because everybody is happy and gay, because all of them are useful people who have their share in the great reconstruction of our street. . . . We are proud of our street. . . . Our street no longer knows vagabonds, but helps the correct education of the people."

Changes in industry and agriculture are described in similar fashion, and although there is glaring evidence that the facts are far different, the Communists apparently see little reason to make their vision conform to reality. The adjectives, "sun, hope, air, wealth, happiness," automatically accompany any reference to the present, and the regimes apparently assume that the people will come to believe in their existence simply by hearing them reiterated often enough.



Title: Growth of Industrial Employment

Caption: "During the carrying out of the Three-Year Plan, we have already witnessed a rapid rise in the worker population of Warsaw. Employment in Warsaw industries, building trade included, will have grown from 54,000 in 1946 to 130,000 by the end of the year. By the end of the Six-Year Plan, the number of those employed in industry and building will reach a total of 200,000 or 40 per cent of the professionally-employed population." *The Six Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Warsaw* (Warsaw), January 1951.

One of the main functions of comparisons between past and present is to convince the masses of the "rightness" of Party policy in its particular manifestations. Collective farming, for instance, has been hailed by the Communists as the road to rural prosperity, and the "new life" in the countryside inevitably means life on kolkhozes or sovkhoses. Thus, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), February 17, 1952, wrote:

"Tremendously increased kolkhoz farms produce abundant crops. . . . Members of the kolkhoz think of the past with bitterness, but only seldom, because the past has disappeared like a fog under the rays of the sun. The once starving Peter Oaljos took home more than one and a half freight cars of produce last year. In his home there is the sound of radio. His closets are packed with clothes. When he walks down the road to work, he is all dressed up. He actually became younger in the kolkhoz. The sons of day laborers of the past go to high school. In the evenings, the kolkhoz house of culture is filled with peasants . . . who enjoy plays and lectures. . . . In the fall of 1951, Soviet visitors again came to the village. . . . [Their] task was to help towards greater prosperity on the road of the new life. . . . In sum, they will completely change the old-fashioned way of farming."

Living conditions of workers are also said to have improved radically under the Communist regime, and miseries of the past can no longer be seen and are "revealed" to young men only through books and the tales of their elders. According to *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), September

12, 1954, the lives of miners are now filled with culture, greenery and sun:

"The old miners think back to the past. They have not forgotten the suffering that was their share under the capitalist mining barons. They worked for starvation wages and lived in dilapidated shacks. . . . The Hungary of the overlords paid little attention to their recreation and health. . . . The new mining generation knows about these conditions only from tales of old miners and from books. Today, nobody is threatened by the curse of the world—unemployment. The impoverished mining villages, the neglected, dreary settlements, have been replaced by new socialist mining towns in which sunny and roomy apartments, houses of culture and fragrant parks await the miners returning from work."

Perhaps the most salient feature of the new life is the atmosphere of feverish building said to be prevalent throughout Eastern Europe. In almost all Satellite publications, attention is called to new housing projects, new industrial cities, and new installations—radios, telephones, etc.—contributing to the public welfare. Far from being considered inevitable concomitants of modern life, industrialization and housing construction are alleged to represent the victory of the Communist ideal. In cities such as Sztalinvaros the "newly finished concrete roads and saplings of future woods" supposedly reveal the Hungary of the future, "stretching her arms like a young giant"; in small towns such as Szolnok, the innumerable manifestations of construction reflect the people's struggle to "secure Socialism":

"Plumbing is installed for the new settlements. . . . The roads get pavements and public buildings spring up one after another. The town gets a completely new look, every line of which reflects the cheerful, buoyant, socialist sentiment. Those walking the streets of Szolnok may see every phase of the town's development and must realize that a town of work and peace is being built here. On the streets are trucks with building material, broken-up pavement awaiting the installation of public works, houses, new schools and hospitals under construction. On the territory set aside for industrial purposes, the feverish activity is even more intense. Huge industrial plants spring up with incredible speed, proclaiming peaceful creation and the will of the workers to secure socialism, sentiments which now fill Szolnok and the whole country."

(*Elet es Tudomany* [Budapest], May 9, 1954)

The New Man

"Our new life constantly develops new traits in people, progressive qualities. Our new life makes that which is old in man, such as individualism and selfishness, disappear gradually."

Scinteia Tineretului (Bucharest), March 19, 1955

Inhabiting this new world is the new man, whose character is forged in the "struggle for Socialism." He is distinguished primarily by his capacity to unite with and, where necessary, to subordinate himself to the interests of the collective. He is dedicated to work, the common good and human solidarity; he is upright, undaunted by ob-

stacles, selfless, self-sacrificing and constantly striving to realize the Communist goal. Not only is the new "Socialist" man perfection in himself, but he inspires others by his "conscious, purposive action," and his unerring devotion to the cause. Thus Cabinet member Zdenek Nejedly described the reaction of Czechoslovak citizens to the Soviet man—that paragon, who has advanced farthest along the road to utopia:

"Whoever visits the Soviet Union . . . comes back with the realization that the newness rests not only in the things being created, but that somehow the Soviet man himself is a new man too. And the same holds true when the Soviet man comes to us. . . . A man of the working class is primarily an honest man—honest in all aspects of life, be they public or private. . . . Another mark: dedication. I think that our comrades are not always aware that every new order, if it is to be realized, demands more than one sacrifice. . . . And when we are aware of what we are fighting for, no sacrifice is difficult because no sacrifice is in vain. . . . We should stop thinking that for everything we do, for every step, for every movement of the hand, we have to be specially paid. . . . We must not justify love of the Soviet Union either, with the knowledge of how much the Soviet Union has given and is giving us. That would be bourgeois love. We love the Soviet Union as the first and leading Socialist state . . . from which we draw incomparable value. . . .



Photograph taken from *The Six Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Warsaw* (Warsaw), January 1951, Caption stated: . . . "unfortunately our building industry is still fettered by the backwardness which we inherited from the capitalist regime."

"There is something else yet, which is not the least part of the greatness of the Soviet man. . . . It suffices to mention the name of the Soviet Union or Stalin in front of him and immediately his eyes and entire face light up. . . . And in it there is so much love that one is moved by such dedication. . . . This gives us strength that we are not alone . . . that the Soviet Union is like another family . . . a land near to us."

(*Rude Pravo* [Prague], December 20, 1952)

Among the specific traits exhibited by the new man are love and appreciation for the Soviet Union; unquestioning obedience to the Party; indifference to hardships, and unfailing interest in work competitions, political education and fulfillment of Party directives. That the extent of his metamorphosis is measured and determined by such attitudes was indicated by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Václav Kopecký when he said: "Under the concept of the new people, we have in mind people who burn with patriotic zeal for their own land while loving the Soviet Union intensely and believing in the idea of proletarian internationalism, in the idea of brotherhood of nations and of peace." It was also suggested by Cabinet member István Hidas, who declared in *Szabad Nép* (Budapest), February 19, 1953: "The new type of socialist man on the Soviet pattern is shaping up in our country too. The man who demonstrates his love of country through work, discipline and by sticking firmly to his post; the man for whom work is a matter of honor and glory and who is being forged in the fire of work competitions and building socialism. Our Party is strong, and our people, lined up solidly behind our Party, are united as they never have been in the course of history."

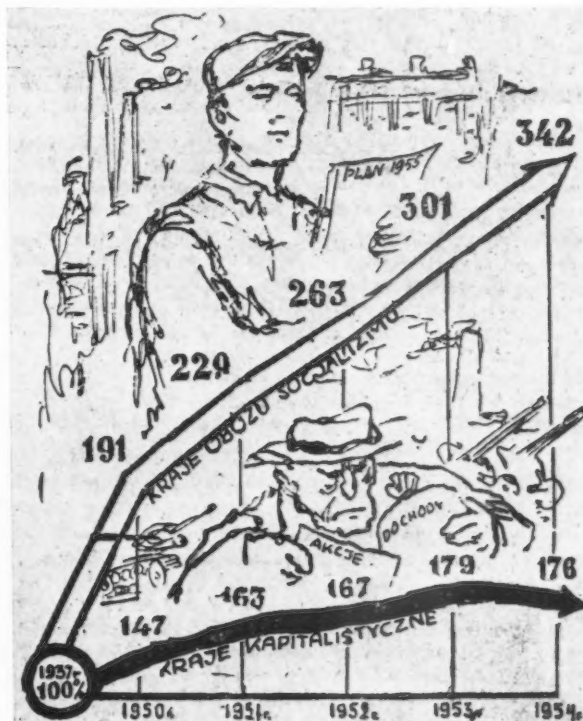
Although the new man lacks all traces of individuality, complexity and independence, the Communists insist that he is pre-eminently human—that he is neither a robot nor an abstraction, but a real person in whom conscience and consciousness have reached a high state of development owing to the new social and economic relations. On June 13, 1954, Václav Kopecký, quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), thus vehemently denied the charge that the new man was an automaton: "It is necessary to remark that nothing could be more foolish than to labor under the impression that when we speak of the new man, the new people under socialism, we have in mind some abnormal people devoid of human qualities and looking like sleepwalkers." And Radio Bucharest, April 28, 1955, rejecting the "mystical concept" of conscience, attempted to prove the realistic basis for the development of the new "socialist" being. Emphasizing the materialistic and scientific nature of Marxism, the commentator said:

"Conscience has appeared in men in the process of social labor, of the social activity of production, as a product of social development. . . . Once these appeared . . . by the decisive role of labor, man's conscience, language and thought have constantly developed simultaneously with the development of the labor process for, in the framework of this program, men learn to distinguish more and more rigorously peculiarities and essences of objects, to abstract concrete phenomena and to discover their laws."

What the Communists specifically have in mind when they talk about the new man is best seen in descriptions of his reactions to ordinary, "human" situations. As molded by the new society, the new man always puts politics above pleasure; his eyes are eternally fixed on his goal, and his ambition for enlightenment and self-improvement is constant. Thus a worker on vacation in a Communist rest home wrote to *Svet Práce* (Prague), February 4, 1954, that although the holiday granted him by the welfare state had been a joyful occasion, it was marred by one important circumstance:

"Namely, that during the entire week we did not once hear news broadcasts and we did not hold any political debates, even though quite a few comrades requested them. I am of the opinion that this is not in order. To take a rest in the pleasant surroundings of the Krkonose Mts. does not mean severing contacts with the world and remaining ignorant of what is happening at home and abroad. The building of socialism is a matter of political importance, and to leave the builders of socialism without political education while on vacation I consider incorrect."

While the new man, like other human beings, has in-law troubles and domestic problems, he places his work above everything, whether it be political activation or socialist competition; his view is not limited to the family circle but encompasses all of humanity, and, somewhat para-



Title: Two Worlds—Two Lines of Development. The upper line, "Socialist" countries, and the lower line, "capitalist" countries. The worker is holding the 1955 Plan, and the "capitalist" shares and profits. *Trybuna Wolności* (Warsaw), January 5-11, 1955.

doxically, it is apparently his very breadth of outlook and Marxist viewpoint which, in the end, makes for domestic felicity. Thus, *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), April 11, 1952, published the account of a new man describing how he straightened out his personal life:

"I am married and have two children. My job demands that I spend most of my time away from home. I like my work. When I married and after we had our first child, I didn't think that I would have to spend more time with my wife and baby. I used to continue to go away from my family for a week, a fortnight, or even a month. My error did not consist in leaving, but in not telling my wife why I was away. . . . [When we were awaiting our second child] I saw that this couldn't go on any longer. . . . I thought if my wife were to read more, we could become close to each other again. I pointed out to her how long people were separated during the war, but she objected that during the war it was necessary but was so no longer. . . . My comrades sent me to the League's half-year school. I was glad and told my wife about it. . . . She only looked at me sadly. . . . At school, my eyes were opened. I realized that I would have to describe my work to my wife, to explain its importance and why I devote so much time to it; that it was from love of the Party, and so that our children will not live as badly as children in capitalist countries. . . . I showed her a picture in *Mlada Fronta* of a murdered Korean mother and her crying baby. Together we read a few articles from which we learned about life of children in the Soviet Union. Finally, my wife understood the meaning of my work . . . and now she is happy again."

Culture

"The new culture . . . is fundamentally different in content from the bourgeois and landowners' culture. . . . What characterizes it in the first place is its profound popular character. It is created by the people and mirrors the struggle of the large masses for construction of socialism. . . . [It] constitutes a powerful instrument in the hands of the working people in the process of creation, development and defense of the new socialist relations in production."

Lupta de Clasa (Bucharest), August 1954

As contrasted to "decadent" Western culture, the Communists see their own as an instrument and reflection of progress. They claim that under their leadership art and education are no longer the privilege of the select few, but have become accessible to and representative of the masses. Even more important, art and education have a mission—to create the new man and to contribute to the development of the new system. *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), March 18, 1954, defined this twofold task when it stated:

"Our [cultural] efforts are focussed on two equally important, essential and inseparable tasks: first, to popularize education and culture and make cultural means available to millions of workers and peasants, whose access to education and culture and the achievements of science, literature and art, was purposely barred by the bourgeoisie; and, secondly, to permeate our science, culture, our literary and artistic creativeness with a new Socialist content, which enables us to educate the new man, the Socialist man. . . ."

With regard to the first task, the Communists have claimed great success. *Trud* (Sofia), February 22, 1954, for example, stated that "illiteracy in our country has been liquidated entirely in people below fifty years of age," and *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), March 18, 1954, announced: "The Party slogan—not even one child should be deprived of schooling—has been fully carried out. We have liquidated illiteracy . . . as a mass phenomenon among persons below the age of fifty. . . . We have extended the scope of activity of institutions responsible for the popularization of knowledge; we are extending library points; editions of books, periodicals, newspapers and dailies are larger, and the number of radio set owners has increased so that an ever larger part of our country is given conditions for proper reception of radio broadcasts."

The second mission of culture is more difficult to carry out, and judging from recent complaints about schematic literature and primitive, unconvincing films, the Communists have not met with the success desired. Despite shortcomings, however, they declare that the new State has given rise to a "cultural renaissance," marked by unprecedented freedom and unlimited possibilities for creative work. Artists, they say, have been granted the opportunity to engage in an "active struggle," and thus inspired and led by the Party, have gained new impetus and scope. *Literaturen Front* (Sofia), February 11, 1954, described this renaissance as follows:

"The culture of a nation—this is its face before history, this is its strength and stability, this is its immortality. History—the wise teacher—has proved to us so many times that when the representatives of a political regime begin to persecute science, to censure thoughts, to block inspiration and burn books—they are condemned by life's progress to an inevitable and shameful death. Our literature, our theater, our cinema, music and art, are in a bloom unknown to history. . . . They are developing fast, because the country guarantees political and creative freedom and is securing for them a strong material basis."

What this freedom consists of was defined by the weekly *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), April 6, 1954, which stated that "if we do not understand the problem of the creator's freedom as a freedom whose content, sense and direction are defined by the Socialist compass, if we do not warn the creator that the freedom to select creative problems should not be tantamount to the freedom to select merely artistic coteries, if we do not place the problems of the Party and the national and educational role of Socialist realistic art in the center of our struggles . . . we will lose the pulse of our struggle . . . and the cause of man and art's greatness." The Communists claim, in effect, that the freedom of the artist is the freedom to engage in the struggle for Communism. This possibility led *Csillag* (Budapest), January 1954 to state: "Our age does not belong to the abortive revolutions; it is the age of building socialism. The Hungarian writer today has the chance to be not only a prophet but an active fighter. The Hungarian writer is no longer forced to represent the whole camp of opposition as a leader without followers. There is a Party in which the ambitious plans have found a home." Or, as *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) Feb-

ruary 3, 1953, explained it: "The possibilities before our young writers are unlimited. They enjoy the privilege of creating in an age when in the course of socialist building they have become participants in the greatest event in history . . . when they have the example of Soviet literature, socialist-realist literature to follow."

Communists claim that even the quality of mass entertainment and sports have changed and acquired an educational value. Circuses, for instance, illustrate the battle of life against death, according to the Hungarian press: "The capitalist circus regarded arousing an atmosphere of fear as its main aim; let the audience think that the wild beast can crush his trainer or bite off his head at any moment. In our circus, the training of animals, which is the result of courage and persistent and purposeful work, has another goal: it demonstrates the victory of human will power over nature and animal instincts. . . . In our circuses, the training of animals and juggling have an educational effect."

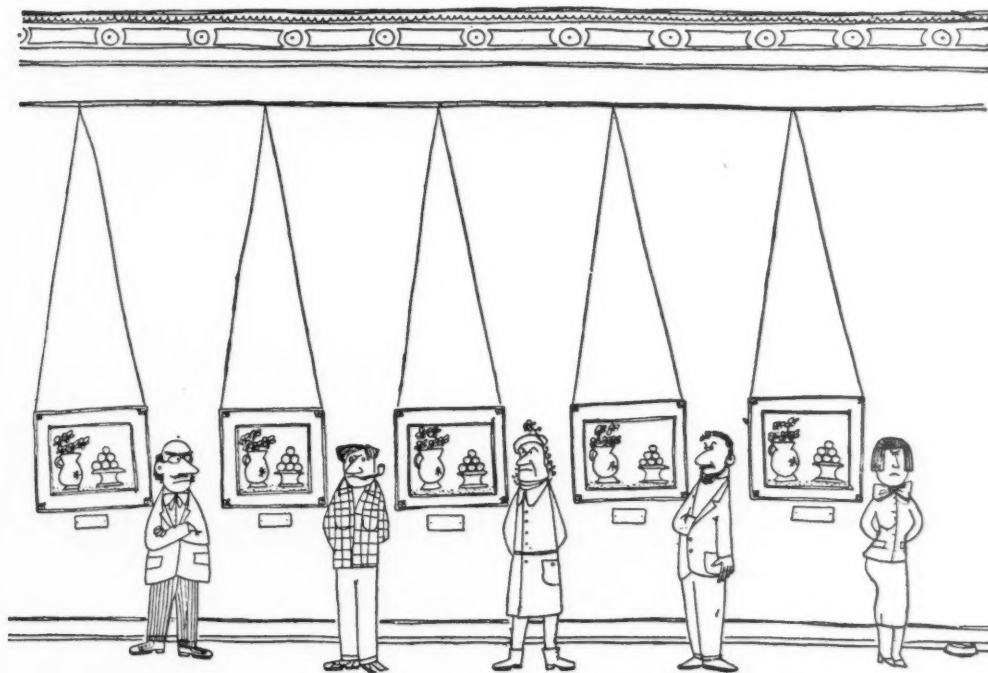
Patterns and Conclusions

The absurd, theoretical world of make-believe the Communists have so carefully erected is only partly intended to delude the people: in a more fundamental sense, it rep-

resents aspirations long discarded, vanished dreams and frustrated yearnings. Plans have gone awry, theories have crumbled under the weight of facts, and misery, cruelty and injustice have become the norm of life under Communism. The Party, however, cannot admit these crucial reverses, least of all to itself. Party members high and low *know* that the life they depict in such glowing terms is a life of misery and frustration, but it is *their* life, *their* beliefs, *their* emotional investment. They may know the truth, but they cannot afford to face it. Many of their pronouncements indicate an inability to differentiate between reality and a fictitious world that is "real" only in terms of their own inner necessities. Thus, just as the Communists are incapable of grasping the essentials of our own lives, so they blind themselves to many of the facets of the world they have created.

The people bear the brunt of this hypnotism of self-delusion; no matter how effective and all-embracing the propaganda means, the realities of Communist life are indeed real for the captive peoples. The more exaggerated regime claims are, the more extreme their lies and distortions, the greater the people's revulsion. In a sense, Communists are digging their own graves, for with every failure and every "justification" or "explanation," their alienation from the people increases.

Oh, Those Individualists!



Nowa Kultura (Warsaw), January 16, 1955



Title: Balloonist

Caption: "The Free Europe Committee in Munich sent over Poland balloons carrying the libelous booklets of the agent-provocateur Swiatlo."

Szpilki (Warsaw), March 13, 1955

IN THE CHRONICLE of the free world's fight against Communist imperialism, a new chapter opened in April 1954 with the launching of Operation Veto, the first full-scale effort to pierce the Iron Curtain with combined printed and spoken word from the West. As windborne balloons showered leaflets over Czechoslovakia, Radio Free Europe saturated the country with broadcasts proclaiming the message of the leaflets. Veto was followed, in October 1954, by Operation Focus to Hungary, and by Operation Spotlight to Poland in February 1955.

The mission of Veto and Focus is to give support and coherence to the opposition of the captive peoples to their Communist rulers. The rising pressure of discontent behind the Iron Curtain had been charted from the workers' riots of June 1953, the assertions of escapees, admissions by the Communist regime in its own press, and above all by the changes and retreats in post-Stalin Communist policy. The Free Europe Press and Radio Free Europe's combined radio-leaflet operations seek to crystallize the forces of opposition and to provide the people with the means and the will to exact concessions which will im-

Winds of Freedom

"In these past days the traitors in the West have been boasting of 'a remarkable success.' They have announced that in the course of the past year they have sent into the wind balloons carrying as many as 118 million leaflets for 'the benefit of educating the East.' It is indeed a touching picture, to see a former butcher or manufacturer putting his forefinger in his mouth in the popular manner of testing which way the wind blows. And when [the leaflets] fall on the ground we find out such shocking things as, for example, that in Czechoslovakia everything is going to the dogs, that we have nothing to eat. . . .

"It is precisely in the places from where these balloons come that the economic situation is degenerating. It is precisely there that the fate of the working man grows ever worse. Not even increased arming, lying propaganda, nor the balloons seem to bring relief. Factories are closing, people are losing their jobs, prices are rising. . . .

"... The traitors and liars can determine for themselves which way the wind blows. And without the tests with wet forefingers and the 118 million lies, at that. The wind is blowing from the East and it brings the news that we have already made great strides toward a permanent peace, a permanent happiness and Socialism, and that we shall continue along the same path. . . ."

Mlada Fronta (Prague), April 6, 1955

prove their own life, while at the same time undermining the power of the regime. This was done by drawing up a realistic action program and furnishing the opposition with the press and radio needed to make its program articulate.

Veto

Veto's basic platform is spelled out in "The Ten Demands of the Czechoslovak People's Opposition." These demands were set down on posters, in the pages of the opposition newspaper *Svobodna Evropa* (Free Europe) and in special leaflets addressed to particular groups on the occasion when their key demands could be pressed: voters during regime elections, farmers during the harvest, workers during trade union elections. Between May 1, 1954, and May 1, 1955, ninety million leaflets were carried by 180,000 balloons into Czechoslovakia, while Radio Free Europe broadcasts further disseminated the political program of the People's Opposition.

The campaign at once put Czechoslovakia's regime on the defensive. The regime issued a protest to the US gov-

ernment, condemning "the interference in the internal affairs of our country." A second note (April 19, 1955) reiterated the protest. To the protest the US government replied that it did not consider communication with the people behind the Iron Curtain a violation of international law. In addition to these diplomatic protests, the regime fought Veto with its own press and radio. But implicit in many of these attacks was recognition of the effectiveness of the operation. During Veto's "Harvest of National Self-Defense," *Rude Pravo* (Prague) complained that Veto's slogan "The Land Belongs to Those Who Till It" was a theft of Communist thunder. In attacking the kolkhoz leaflet, which reminded farmers of the regime decree authorizing voluntary withdrawals from collective farms, Josef Nepomucky, First Deputy Minister of Agriculture, declared (Radio Prague, April 5): "The Western slanderers from Free Europe, the clouds of mendacious leaflets, the subversive activities of the kulaks cannot change the facts, nor discourage those who have already decided to join the kolkhozes, or those who will choose to join them. . . ." but *Mlada Fronta* (Prague) had reported that "(kolkhoz member Cervenka) had openly proclaimed in the village square that he had influenced several members to resign from the kolkhoz, and he bragged that others would follow. . . ."

In November and December, Veto took up the cause of the workers in electing sympathetic representatives to the factory shop committees. The regime scoffed "Who are these traitors who so belatedly show an interest in the conditions of our workers?"; but regime sensitivity to the shop committee campaign could not be concealed. Radio Prague, December 12, warned workers to beware of candidates who claim to support rights and demands of workers: "Our enemies endeavor—because they want to elect organs in the plants composed of various hostile elements—to effect a decline in the authority of the trade union organs. The danger lies in the fact that our enemies [put in] people who allegedly fight for the rights and demands of workers and employees but [who] in reality are demagogues because their success would bring not benefit but great harm to the working people." The regime radio charged that "there still appear egalitarian and other attitudes fostered through the long years of capitalist rule, at which the traitors now clutch. . . . It is well to remember the traitors' true face to make it obvious who benefits by deliberate or inadvertent propaganda in support of egalitarianism, the neutrality of trade unions, the violation of state discipline, and support of wage demands." (Italics added.)

The fact that genuine workers' representatives succeeded in getting into the committees was implied by the Pilsen newspaper *Pravda's* lament on December 3: "What is the good of having trade union leaders who cater to the backward elements . . . [by] calling for lower norms and higher wages?"

Instances of the victories won by the people in local contests with the regime are regularly publicized in the columns of *Svobodna Evropa*. In a recent issue, the newspaper published a balance sheet of the Opposition's



Caption: American manna from heaven . . .

Zycie Warszawy (Warsaw), February 27, 1955

achievements. This report to the Opposition read in part:

"Last year, when the first Ten Demands of the Czechoslovak People's Opposition floated into Czechoslovakia, the regime was enraged and protested, but the people rejoiced. The regime had to look on as its opponents created and gradually carried out their program. The people—the farmer in the village, the worker in the factory, the teacher in the classroom, the housewife at the market—all felt that the single individual's actions in his own work place formed part of the powerful movement by which the majority of the people undermines the position of the Communist masters. The people felt that it was their own program, put on paper by their friends in the free world, and sent to the country in millions of copies, each copy to become a link in the opposition movement for Czechoslovak freedom.

"Could these demands be fulfilled? Have they been fulfilled at least in part? Let's have a look at the most important demands, from the industrial and agricultural sectors.

Demand No. 2: "More money, less talk." The regime stooges have talked endlessly of the need for productivity and for slower increase in wages. Finally, however, URO Secretary Trojanova had to admit that productivity had increased only slowly and had even declined in some cases, but that wages had risen quickly, by 30% since the currency "reform." The regime invented a complicated control system for piecework and premiums. The workers, however, helped by cooperating foremen, found out how

to exploit this system for their own advantage. Experiments in norm "stabilization" failed; "Socialist competition" degenerated into a farce. In mining and in several so-called free professions, employees by applying pressure, were able to achieve higher compensation at a better rate.

Demand No. 3: "Workers must not be chained." It is not a matter of mere chance that in 1953 the regime had to discard its own decree on severe punishments for absenteeism and labor turnover. The regime had good reason to be alarmed: production would be impossible without labor, and the workers were fed up by too many orders from above. By increasing absenteeism and labor turnover, the workers showed their Communist masters that they were set to loosen the communist straitjacket by fraternal cooperation.

Demand No. 4: "No meddling with free time." Enterprises, under pressure from employees, increasingly refused to release labor for brigade work. Employees evade Sunday shifts as long as they are not fully paid and, in any case, know how to take compensatory leave.

Demand No. 5: "End of Farmers' Bondage." By passive resistance, farmers first forced the regime to grant the right to leave the UACs or to dissolve them; now they use this right and cannot be lured or forced into joining the UAC. Thus they force the regime to give more assistance to private farming through higher bulk-buying prices, more extensive deliveries of fertilizers, seed, etc., and by permitting larger private plots. Farmers know that the regime is helpless in the face of their solidarity.

Demand No. 6: "Larger quotas—smaller crops." In last year's Harvest of National Self-Defense farmers helped



Caption: "Look, paper . . .!"

Mlada Fronta (Prague), November 4, 1954



Caption: The beggar's staff, the beggar's stick, is all that's left to them. They serve for dollars—or just a kick, Coming from Uncle Sam.

Rovnost (Brno), November 6, 1954

themselves and all other groups. By opposing compulsory deliveries they succeeded in having the unfulfilled quotas for 1953 written off, and bulk-buying prices for animal products raised. As a result of their endeavors, regime profits were cut and regime economic and political foundations affected.

Demand No. 8: "Goods for the people, not for the Soviets." By their obstinate opposition the people succeeded in forcing the regime to cut prices. Prices still remain disproportionately high, but deliveries to the Soviets have been reduced, and the people are sure that they will achieve more price reductions.

What is the significance of these successes? They are evidence that people in mutual cooperation find ways and means to force the regime to grant more leisure time, better wages, more goods, and other material advantages.

But the struggle for the People's Ten Demands extends to more than material gains. Its road leads from minor to major successes, from regime concessions to regime total retreat; from the insecurity and helplessness of functionaries to the weakening and dissipation of the entire party and police apparatus; from morsels of freedom in factories, in the villages and elsewhere, to freedom in the entire country."

Focus

Operation Focus, the Free Europe Committee's second radio-leaflet operation, began on October 1, 1954. It followed the general principles of Veto, with distinctions

to conform to specific conditions in Hungary. The main differences between the Hungarian and Czechoslovak situations were: the greater depth and scope of the New Course in Hungary, greater internal strain within the Hungarian Party and State apparatus, and the less concentrated character of the effective opposition, with its strength primarily in the rural areas rather than in the urban, industrial sector.

Focus united the scattered opposition forces in the National Opposition Movement (NEM in the Hungarian abbreviation) with a platform of Twelve Demands. Fifteen million copies of the Opposition's Manifesto and Twelve Demands were sent in by balloon complemented by round-the-clock broadcasts by Radio Free Europe's Voice of Free Hungary. The leaflets and broadcasts stressed the legitimate, non-violent nature of the movement and stated its immediate and long-range goals. Six weeks later the first issue of *Szabad Magyarorszag* (Free Hungary), the opposition's newspaper, was launched. Subsequent leaflets capitalized on Communist weak spots—namely in the deteriorating farm collectivization program and in the formation of non-Communist mass organizations. Two leaflets commemorated the holiday seasons: at Christmas, three million copies of a four-color reproduction of Roger van der Weyden's "Blue Madonna" were dropped into Hungary, and a special greeting card went in at Easter.

On October 15, the Hungarian regime issued a protest note to the US government. Like Czechoslovakia it charged that the campaign "attempts to stir up discontent among the people of Hungary and invites them to put up resistance to their lawful government." The US reply contended that "the US government does not believe that any of the suggestions [the Twelve Demands] are 'inciting,' 'slandrous,' or 'seditious.' Certain of the highest officials of the Hungarian Government apparently share this belief, as in recent months they publicly criticized conditions in Hungary [and referred to] flagrant abuses of police power and judicial processes as well as deep-seated economic ills and tensions. The leaflets in question merely make suggestions concerning practical means whereby some admitted shortcomings could be corrected. . . ." The US reply expressed the hope that "the day will come when the need for friends of the Hungarian people to resort to unconventional means of communication will no longer exist."

Imre Nagy, then Hungary's Premier, personally attacked Focus on two occasions. In denouncing the Local Council leaflets campaign, Nagy said: "The enemy inside and out had been watching and hoping to fry its own political fish at the Council elections. Their hopes and aspirations, which they have not in the least relinquished, will certainly be badly thwarted by the elections. . . . Our people could not be fooled with trumped-up news, or with the balloons which are the target of jokes and laughter. . . . Of course, the enemy has not yet buried the hatchet. We must be very careful because one never knows where trouble may start."

The Hegedus regime which succeeded the Nagy gov-

The Ten Demands of the Czechoslovak People's Opposition: 1. Trade Unions for Trade Unionists. 2. More Pay, Less Propaganda. 3. Workers Must Not be Chained to Their Jobs. 4. No State Regimentation of Free Time. 5. No more [Farmers'] Serfdom. 6. No Agricultural Quotas, or Smaller Ones. 7. Autonomy for Local National Committees. 8. Goods for the People, Not for the Soviets. 9. Back to Servicing the Customer. 10. Housing for Families, Not for the State.

The Twelve Demands of the Hungarian NEM: 1. Real Autonomy for the Local Councils. 2. Free Speech and Assembly. 3. The Rule of the Law, not the Reign of the Party. 4. The Land Belongs to Those Who Till It. 5. Free Trade Unions for Free Workers. 6. An End to Industrial Slavery. 7. Production for Hungary's Well-being. 8. Living Standards Must Be Raised. 9. Services to the People in the Hands of the People. 10. Homes, not Barracks. 11. Equality of Education and Free Intellectual Life. 12. Freedom of Worship and of Conscience.

ernment condemned the opening given to dissident forces by the "liberalism" of the New Course. An article in *Társadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), January 1955, admitted that anti-Communism persists indigenously in Hungary as well as being promoted from outside: "We know that
(Continued on page 45)



Broadcaster and newspaper: "The whole Hungarian nation united in the Patriotic People's Front!"
Americans: "Too bad, we dropped the leaflets in vain!"

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), November 4, 1954

The Land Belongs to Those Who Till It

(Following is the partial text of Operation Focus' kolkhoz leaflet. The leaflet was first launched in balloons to Hungary in November 1954.)

ON THE great kolkhoz plot, a tractor turns up the furrows; nearby, a lone peasant uses a horse-drawn plough. The rich soil turns into a broad ribbon behind the tractor, and the wind raises a cloud of powdery dust. The peasant proceeds with firm steps along his furrow, holding the pole securely. The furrows lie side by side, like years in the great order of nature. But the breadth of the ribbon they cut in the kolkhoz plot cannot compare with the pride and hope in the heart of the peasant who works for himself—his own master.

The members of the kolkhoz know that when the last field has been turned over by the tractor, they can decide what they want to do—stay in the kolkhoz or shake off, once and for all, the irritation, the burden, the curse of collective farming.

The lone peasant muses too, because when he has turned over his last furrow, he must make up his mind. The Party secretary and the kolkhoz manager stop at his cottage every evening to ask him—has he, finally, decided to join the farmers' cooperative?

No, he will not join. As the earth turns before him, and his steps begin to drag wearily in the freshly-cut furrow, he feels that it would be the end of living like a human being if he could not plough his own furrow any more, if he could no longer hold his own plough in just this way. . . . The horses are sweating, perspiration soaks their tawny hides and they snort in the sweet air as though agreeing with their master. The peasant nods his head—he knows that he will never join the cooperative.

Those inside the kolkhoz are not so serene. Every evening they gather in agitated little groups and discuss what to do. . . . According to the decree, at the end of the agricultural year those belonging to Type III kolkhozes may resign, but they must submit a written report in advance, setting forth their intention. Only the members of Types I and II kolkhozes can resign merely by expressing their wish. Thus reads the decree for members who have belonged for at least three years. If every member resigns, the kolkhoz is automatically dissolved.

So far so good. They do not fear submitting a report and the few weeks left before their actual departure will pass quickly. . . . The trouble is that some among them are uncertain: might it not be wiser to stay in the kolkhoz? Granted that many members resigned last year—in fact, the kolkhoz nearly dissolved then. Some went to the factories in the cities, but they are coming back now to the village and the kolkhoz. Some who resigned to re-establish their private farms are asking to rejoin the co-operatives—they couldn't manage alone. The burden was too heavy, because they were not given back the land to



A FÖLD AZÉ, AKI MEGMŰVELI!

which they were entitled. They even went to court, but the judgment was against them. . . .

The peasants had grown weary of being dogged by the brigade foreman—no overseer on a landlord's estate drove them as hard as this "Hero of Socialist Labor," who wore his medal on his sweat-stained shirt at the harvest—so they had resigned. Then, suddenly, they discovered that what they had received from the government was no gift, but a loan which had to be paid back. The kolkhoz receives an extension of credit, but the resigning peasant must pay his share of the kolkhoz debt forthwith. And the Party secretary knows how to make his debt ever heavier.

Naturally the resigning peasant is unable to pay such a high sum, so 50 percent of his share of the profit is withheld. In vain has he worked himself almost to death—he may take only half the produce and half the wage due him for his work. And then he is ordered by the Local Council to deliver an extra 10 percent because the delivery quota of an independent farmer is 10 percent higher than that of a kolkhoz member—and now he is an independent farmer. . . .

"That's how it is," says the man in the group who carries himself proudly, "the heaviness of the debts brought back those who resigned last year."

"Not all of them!" interrupts a worn old man who had himself been forced into the kolkhoz at the time of the big collectivization drive exactly three years ago. Last year he wavered, but this year he will go. Tractor ploughing is good, but its rumble haunts even his dreams, never

letting him forget that he is a member of a kolkhoz. Member of a kolkhoz? He is the serf of a kolkhoz and there is no joy in his life, never does he laugh, not once can he find the heart to laugh joyfully over anything. "Not all of them," he repeats, "because the strong ones can stand by themselves. Only the first year is hard—after that, you can get ahead! I have had enough of this, enough of being serf to a kolkhoz!"

The others are silent. All of them had thought of this, but none dared to put it so clearly. Then the words tumble out with sudden violence from the lips of a short, heavy-set lad: "I will go too! I don't care how hard it may be, how much I may have to pay! I refuse to stand in line to hoe and harvest any longer. Collective farming all my life is more than I can bear—I want to be my own master! On my own land!"

Now they all speak at once, interrupting each other. "We must make the decision all together, then we can dissolve all the kolkhozes!" "The government must be made to obey its own decree! It must be forced, otherwise we will not obey either and that will make more trouble in Budapest than here." "If there are no more kolkhozes, they will have to help the independent farmers. If not, the workers will have no bread, and that too will cause more trouble. . . ."

Thus, one autumn evening, the cooperative farm decided to dissolve itself. This is the message sent from one village to another, from one kolkhoz to another, by the NEM.

We demand:

The dissolution of the kolkhozes, the return of pooled land and tools to the owners!

The equal division of common kolkhoz property, the cancellation of debts to the State!

Production supports and long-term credits for the independent farmers!

The return of confiscated peasant lands, the cessation of forced commassation and forced land exchange!



Free Europe Press publications: *Svobodna Evropa*, the newspaper of the Czechoslovak People's Opposition; Józef Swiatlo's exposé of Poland's ruling clique, dropped by balloon into Poland; *Szabad Magyarország*, the newspaper of the Hungarian National Opposition Movement.

The distribution of State farms among the landless peasants!

The end of discriminatory classification of peasants, the elimination of the "kulak" category!

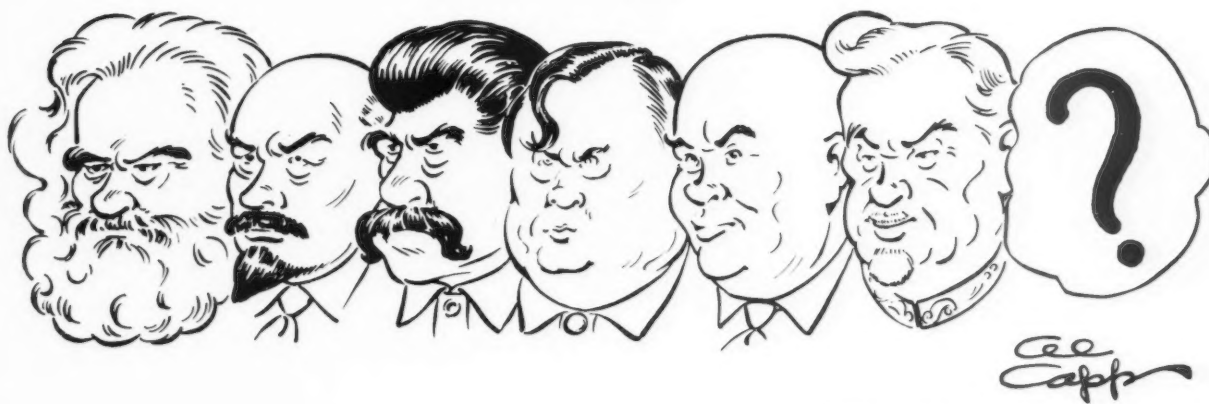
Protection for the peasants, the legal protection of their lands!

The abolition of collectivization!

Reduction of delivery quotas until deliveries are ultimately abolished altogether!

The National Opposition Movement

Communist Hair-edity



Cartoon drawn for and contributed by Al Capp to the Free Europe Press Overseas Publications

Radio Free Europe Speaks . . .

This Is the Voice of Free Poland . . .

The activities of the Committee for a Free Europe have shaken the nerves of the Soviet agents in Poland to such an extent that their public performances now present a half-grotesque, half-mournful sight. In radio propaganda this [recently took] the form of a feature program in which two occupation officials appear as "average Poles" carrying on a "spontaneous, unprepared political discussion." It is only by accident that the subject of this discussion, its style and all its conclusions are 100 percent Moscow-type. . . .

The object of the latest outburst and the subject of this radio dialogue is the booklet based on the disclosures of the former *Bezpieka* official, the UB Colonel Jozef Swiatlo. The distribution of this booklet has been undertaken by a formidable agent of the imperialist West—by no other than the wind! Yes, that wind which carries over Poland thousands of balloons with hundreds of thousands of copies of the booklet, each of which presents the regime in its real role, the role of an enemy which victimizes a conquered people and uses for its dirty work Polish names and titles. The balloon operations of the Committee for a Free Europe, directed this time toward Poland, are the immediate cause of the latest outbursts of Communist hysteria. For this is just what the Bolsheviks cannot get into their heads, that in the West, in the Free World, in America, there are people who cannot accept and will never accept the captivity of the subjugated peoples, and who have therefore taken it upon themselves to conduct a political fight against an order based on the rule of the fist and the law of the slave labor camp. The entire effort of Soviet propaganda has been to persuade people that such a system is something normal, something inflexible, something which satisfies the dreams of the masses. The men who represent that system, the men of Moscow, have for many years been pointed out as national heroes. And now the wind brings thousands of balloons with millions of booklets and wrecks the task of idealizing Soviet conquests.

Soviet propaganda cannot find sufficiently strong words. It uses up so many on daily scoldings that on occasions such as this it can only strike out blindly. The Committee for a Free Europe is a monster, a subversionist espionage agency of the US. Provocation, calumny, foul slander, retaliation, aggression, measureless treason and apostasy, control by Bonn, the transformation of Poland into a "general government" [Nazi occupation regime]—it's all there together with a final awful cry torn from the very Bolshevik heart: "Oh, how we hate you!" Well, it's quite all right. We know that. From that hate also emerges the entire reasoning of the previously mentioned "Discussion on Politics" broadcast by Radio Warsaw. Knowing how concerned all Poles are with the German-Polish problems, the Communists try to exploit these anxieties and thus obtain a trump-card for the regime policy. That is why everything is brought under the title: Adenauer-Wehrmacht. . . .



Title: The Balloons of Free Europe.

Glos Szczecinski (Szczecin), March 26, 1955

It is to camouflage everything from the people of Poland, even the fact that they live in captivity, that as a nation and a state they are being destroyed by the Soviet colossus, the recent partner of the Nazi-Soviet aggression on Poland, the accomplice of the "general government," of Oswiecim, of the partition of Poland and of the most terrible atrocities committed from 1939 to this very day.

By far the most comic moments of the Communists' hysteria are when they try with a few words of servile admiration to counteract facts concerning the personalities of the regime in Poland. It makes the same impression as the charms performed by witch-doctors from the depths of the Dark Continent. Of the heroes of Swiatlo's story, the Bierut clique, these radio agitators speak as of "leaders of the Party and of the people, the most self-sacrificing builders of People's Poland, surrounded by universal respect."

Those self-sacrificing leaders have a habit of shielding themselves with a triple cordon from any public expression of that universal respect. They travel in armored cars. They even go to the movies with a substantial bodyguard. They live in their armored camps, wired in and surrounded by sentries posted every few yards. All the talk about universal respect, about those self-sacrificing builders and leaders of the people, is but art for art's sake, or rather a joke for the sake of joking. Bravo! Well done!

(Continued from page 41)

capitalist ideology tries with all its might to keep alive and spread the old ideas. We do not consider only the Western capitalist countries, the balloons and Radio Free Europe [to be responsible for] the existence of capitalist illusions. This ideology also clings to our life within the country and, like a sick gland, secretes its agents who try to poison the atmosphere around us with their views. . . ."

That Veto and Focus serve the authentic needs of the people in Czechoslovakia and Hungary has been convincingly established. Many suggestions from inside for additional "Demands" have been received by the Free Europe Committee. Refugees report that leaflets are widely circulated among friends, mailed to high Party officials, and seen tacked to factory walls and public buildings.

Spotlight

In December 1953, a Polish Security Police officer fled to the West and exposed the machinations and crimes of a number of high Polish Party and government leaders. Jozef Swiatlo's revelations are the content of the Free Europe Committee's third radio-leaflet operation, Operation Spotlight. On February 12, 1955, balloons began dropping into Poland copies of a 40-page pamphlet containing Swiatlo's testimony. The leaflets were preceded and further amplified by Swiatlo's broadcasts over Radio Free Europe.

Swiatlo's story had immediate and dramatic effects. Hermann Field, named by Swiatlo as one of many victims "framed" by the Security Police, was released from a Polish prison. A complete "reorganization" of the Ministry of Security followed, and the Minister of Security, Swiatlo's former boss, Radkiewicz, was dismissed from his post.

The regime responded by declaring Swiatlo to be an undercover American agent and his activities part of an American-sponsored German plot to conquer Polish territory. The regime avoided specific reference to Swiatlo's disclosures, and its failure to deny the charges in detail provoked a Polish citizen to write to the Communist organ *Trybuna Opolska*, May 2: "Why doesn't *Trybuna Opolska* refute the charges made by Jozef Swiatlo?" The paper loftily replied: "A passerby does not pay attention to a barking dog but simply proceeds on his way." Nonetheless, an attempted explanation followed, which said in part: "Swiatlo uses a variety of tricks, the most usual are insinuation and slander. But he also uses another, a particularly subversive method: he interprets certain negative symptoms, deviations from the Party line which the Party strongly condemns, as the expression of the Party's policy. Thus he used the deviations in the work of the Ministry of Security. The Party, as we know, has taken appropriate measures in this case and the deviations have been corrected. . . . Lying impudently and mis-



Figures, left to right—Unidentified, presumably an espionage agent; a U. S. Army officer; a Nazi; Zenkl.
Inscribed on the balloons: "People's Opposition".

Dikobraz (Prague), August 12, 1954

construing the facts, Swiatlo is trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for his American bosses." The article concluded with the assertion that Polish newspapers need their space "for recording the achievements of People's Poland" rather than for arguing with "yapping foreign radio stations."

Polish seamen and other informants have reported that the Swiatlo revelations caused a great stir in Poland, and that the majority of the people believe that Operation Spotlight triggered the "reorganization" of the Ministry of Security. One of Radio Free Europe's Spotlight broadcasts pointed out that "Jozef Swiatlo is surely not the last escapee from behind the Iron Curtain. Many other regime officials harbor secret intentions of following his steps at the first opportunity. Every Party activist, every zealot, every *Bezpieka* [police] functionary, must realize that the day may come when his crimes and actions, the secrets of his life, will be made public by one of his own colleagues in the same way in which the crimes and abuses of these regime officials were exposed by Jozef Swiatlo. . . . Let the facts disclosed by Swiatlo be a warning to these that the time has come to join forces with their own nation, to help and shield their compatriots instead of acting against them. . . ."

Combined operations is more than a coordination of spoken and printed words. As in the past, such operations will continue to shape popular, democratic opposition to the Satellite regimes, and wherever possible, will propose opposition programs of specific and attainable demands to improve the political and economic strength of those democratic forces. At the same time it will continue to provide the captive peoples with a free press and radio, not only to counteract Communist propaganda, but to provide that indispensable link to the West which is the continuation of their culture, the maintenance of their hope, and the promise of their future.

Current Developments

Area

Spy Trials

Within the last month and a half there has been a sudden rash of trials and confessions of "Western spies and agents." These have taken place, with much fanfare, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania, and it may be presumed that they are "show trials," probably designed to bolster Soviet arguments of Western interference in internal East European affairs.

Poland

In Poland, Adam Boryczka, "traitor to the Polish nation, collaborator, murderer of Polish fighters for independence and of Soviet guerrillas, and later for many years a paid agent of the American and British secret services, head of liaison of the WIN [Freedom and Independence; an anti-Communist underground organization] delegate's office" was sentenced to death on May 21, according to Radio Warsaw of that date. He had confessed his crimes, and given a long, detailed and circumstantial account of espionage paid for by American money and carried out by Polish exile groups.

On June 3, Radio Warsaw announced the trial and on June 4 the death sentence of Wladyslaw Dubielak, "agent of the British intelligence service." "The accused also collaborated with American, West German and other espionage services," Dubielak confessed.

On June 27, Radio Warsaw announced the trial and sentencing of Boleslaw Eiben, alias Jozef Kwiatkowski, and Stanislaw Rutkowski, alias Adam Baran, "agents sent to Poland from the American espionage center in Oberursel near Frankfurt-am-Main," and of Jozef Zylicz, "who was recruited by Eiben in Poland." All three confessed. Eiben was sentenced to death, Rutkowski to 15 years imprisonment, Zylicz to 8 years imprisonment.

On July 11, Radio Warsaw announced that Napoleon Idzikowski and five associates had gone on trial for espionage "on behalf of the British and later the American intelligence services. . . ."

Czechoslovakia

There were three such trials in Czechoslovakia in June. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 9 and 10, reported the trial and sentencing of A. Hajduk, B. Stencl, J. Skvara and B.

Optimistic Optics



Top: Shortcomings; Bottom: Achievements.

Przyjazn (Warsaw), June 5, 1955

Sykora for "criminal acts of espionage" as "agents of the American CIC and MIC." Hajduk was sentenced to life imprisonment, Stencl to 25 years, Skvara to 23 years and Sykora to 20 years. They were also deprived of their civic rights and their property, and excluded from military service.

On June 16, Radio Prague announced the sentencing of Bernard Nemcek to death, of Jozef Kasicky and Stefan Bugan to life imprisonment, and of nine others to prison terms ranging from 6 to 25 years. They were accused of being "members of a dangerous populist anti-state organization for high treason, espionage and criminal acts against peace." The group was linked to the Slovak separatist movement and the "prewar fascist Slovak People's Party," as well as with Western intelligence agents.

On June 17, Radio Prague announced that "the American spies, Adolf Klima, Boris Matejicka, Vaclav Urban and their assistant, Frantisek Jordan, all U.S. intelligence agents" had pleaded guilty to "crimes of high treason and espionage . . . betraying important data of an economic, military and political character. . . ." By so doing, it was stated, they had "assisted the efforts aimed at unleashing a new war and at the destruction of the people's democratic regime in

Czechoslovakia." Matejicka was sentenced to 23 years imprisonment, Klima to 22 years, Urban to 18 years and Jordan to 15 years.

Hungary

On June 24, all Hungarian newspapers and Radio Budapest announced that "The Ministry of the Interior of the Hungarian People's Republic with the help given by patriotic civilians succeeded in unmasking and arresting some groups of American spies and saboteurs." Sandor Szilard and Ferenc Jakab were the only men named; their cases, it was stated, "are under investigation." The announcement said that the arrested men were "recruited by American intelligence . . . and by the imperialist propaganda and spying organization, the so-called Radio Free Europe." On July 9, Radio Budapest announced that Mr. and Mrs. Andras Marton, UP and AP correspondents in Budapest, two employees of the U.S. embassy in Budapest, and unspecified others had been arrested for espionage.

Romania

On June 11, all Romanian newspapers and Radio Bucharest announced that two men, Gheorghe Gheorghiu and Gheorghe Cristescu had voluntarily appeared before State security agencies and confessed to being American spies parachuted into the country. They gave detailed information on American espionage activities. It was announced that, "in consideration of their sincere confession," the men were not arrested but were given the "right to choose freely their residence and the possibility of getting a job."

There were also several reports of spy trials in East Germany. Two of these were announced by Radio Berlin on July 1. In Rostock four "former RIAS agents" were convicted of "diversionist and sabotage acts, military and economic espionage and incitement to boycott." One life sentence, and others of 15, 10 and 6 years, all at hard labor, were handed down. At Frankfurt-on-Oder, seven "agents of the British secret service who had carried out military and economic espionage on a large scale, or who had knowledge of such espionage activities" were sentenced to hard labor for terms ranging from life to three years.

On July 2, Radio Berlin announced the trial and sentencing of three "agents of the West Berlin espionage center RIAS." Sentences of 12, 7 and 2½ years at hard labor were given.

Hungary

Agriculture

A recent decree and a great deal of press comment highlight the regime's continued preoccupation with agricultural problems. The decree, announced by Radio Budapest, July 8, establishes compulsory bulk-buying of grain in addition to compulsory quota deliveries. It stated that "independent farmers, members of kolkhozes and kolkhozes must hand over to the State, on terms favorable to themselves . . . that proportion of their bread grain surplus determined by the executive committee of the town, city or district council."

According to the best available information, the prices



"He is in no hurry to deliver his produce, but when the commune gets at him he'll deliver it soon enough!" [arrow points to delivery center]

Szpilki (Warsaw), May 15, 1955

to be paid for these compulsory bulk purchases are approximately the same as free-market prices, far above compulsory quota prices. The apparent aim of the regime is not financial gain at the expense of the peasants, but an increase of total grain collections. The decree provides that until all peasants of a village have fulfilled both compulsory grain delivery quotas and the compulsory grain bulk-purchase plan no one in the village may sell any grain on the free market. By treating whole villages as a unit in this manner (collective guilt) the regime intends to intensify local pressures on recalcitrant farmers.

A similar provision anticipating this decree appeared in the June 8 Party resolution on agriculture. This suspended the free marketing of grain in each village as of July 1 until all peasants in the village have fulfilled their compulsory deliveries. The addition of the compulsory bulk-purchase system was not mentioned in the resolution.

Discussing the Party agricultural resolution, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), June 23, stated:

"If anywhere, it is in the field of harvesting that right deviation has caused much harm. Last year, kulaks and speculators in the villages grew much stronger. They have in every way endeavored to loosen the discipline among citizens, they have hampered the fulfillment of the delivery schedule, and they have not even fulfilled the reduced



Cartoon entitled "The Two-Faced Fat Janus," shows two sides of a kulak, at left his storehouse and pockets filled, and at right, when faced with the delivery decree (sign on the wall) crying and with empty pockets.
Ludas Matyi (Budapest) June 22, 1955

harvesting project. There were villages where 10 to 12 percent of grain deliveries were padded out by corn, sunflower seed or potatoes. The whole working population suffered because of this, since less grain was delivered to the State stores for public supply. In addition to this, we were unable to fulfill the grain sowing schedule in the autumn of 1953. That is why, in order to supply the public, we were obliged to import part of the bread grain from abroad. Every single quintal of this imported grain had to be paid for in foreign currency."

First Deputy Premier Erno Gero, in *Szabad Nep*, June 12, was even more revealing of failures:

"During the past year we have been forced to import large quantities of bread grains and fodder as well as sugar and fats. . . . In previous years, we exported bread grains and sugar, and it is not a normal procedure that a grain-exporting country should suddenly turn into a grain-importing country. The absolute value of our agricultural exports dropped between 1950 and 1954, and the agricultural share in our total exports fell from 43 percent to 27 percent."

There has been a good deal of reiteration of the major points of the agricultural resolution, combined with attacks on those who deviate either to the "left" or "right" of its precepts. *Szabad Nep*, June 30, in an editorial entitled "The Village Communists Will Test Their Strength," said:

"During the last few weeks there were conferences throughout the country on the June 8 Central Committee resolution. . . . The meetings of the Party showed the joy and satisfaction of the membership that, after the right-wing labyrinth which caused so much damage, the Central Committee has shown what must be done for the Socialist reor-

ganization of agriculture. Naturally, the things to be done for the development of the collective movement have received the most attention. In general, the view that voluntariness means passive waiting has been rejected. The speakers criticized the 'it's enough as it is' atmosphere. . . . It was not [sufficiently] apparent in the point of view shown by the Party assemblies that sectarianism and the under-rating of the medium farmers is one of the most dangerous impediments in the development of collectives. . . . The boosting of independent farms, especially their market production, will be our important task for long years yet. . . . After the June 8 resolution . . . the kulaks and hostile elements tried to harm the Party and government, and at the same time the working peasantry, by talking about compulsory collectivization. . . ."

Agricultural Policy Clarified

The agricultural resolution, subsequent discussion of it, and the bulk-buying decree have done much to clarify regime policy toward agriculture within the framework of the post-Nagy shift. It seems clear now that because of failures in the New Course collection policy, and the widespread growth of black markets, the State supply of agricultural products was seriously deficient. The short-range cure for this problem is increased punitive measures against "speculators and black marketeers" (the June 8 resolution called for the application of the "full force of the law" against these violators), and the decree withdrawing free market rights until quotas are fulfilled. The long range cure is collectivization, and it is clear that collectivization is to be pushed. Seventy percent of cultivated land remains in the hands of independent peasants, however, and the regime is attempting to secure their continued cooperation and production by assuring them that collectivization will be completely voluntary.

One of the charges against the "right deviation" of Nagy was that in de-emphasizing heavy industry, he wished Hungary to remain predominantly agricultural. This attributed aim, of course, has been violently refuted since the anti-Nagy March Resolution, which called for continued industrialization. Nevertheless, in light of the deficiencies in agriculture, such as the recently-admitted grain shortage, the regime cannot very well advocate decreased agricultural production. The dilemma is to be solved, in logic if not in fact, by marked increases in agricultural productivity, mechanization and collectivization which—the regime claims—makes extensive use of machines possible. *Szabad Nep*, May 24, said:

"The pace of our . . . economy's development is naturally reduced by the comparatively slow rise in the productivity of agricultural labor. A lag in agricultural production as compared to industrial production is a law in capitalist countries. The discrepancy between the development of the two is still more striking with us; since our liberation the productivity of labor rose at an unprecedented pace in industry and only at a comparatively slow pace in agriculture. . . . If we succeed in raising substantially the rate of increase of agricultural labor productivity, considerable manpower will be released, and the utilization of this re-

leased manpower in industry will become an important factor in raising the pace of development in industry and thereby in our people's economy."

DISZ Congress

The Second Congress of DISZ (Association of Working Youth), the Communist youth league, was held on June 15-18. It was marked by criticism of "right deviation" in the organization, and by demands that DISZ concentrate on aiding the current regime drive to expand agricultural collectivization.

Jozef Szakali, First Secretary, stated that there are now 720,000 members in 12,072 basic DISZ organizations, an increase of 150,000 members from the middle of 1954, when membership dropped 80,000 from the 1952 level. Despite the rising membership, Szakali said, "the influence exerted by the DISZ and the rate of increase of its membership are not satisfactory . . . there are 1,700,000 young people in the DISZ age bracket and yet only 41.7 percent of the working and studying youth belong." (Radio Budapest, June 16). He called for expansion of the organization to a million members.

A number of speakers stressed the importance of Party leadership and the attacks on that leadership during the Nagy period. Szakali said:

"Right-wing forces did everything to weaken Party leadership. This served almost as an invitation to hostile forces to increase their subversive activities. Their final aim was the weakening of Party leadership, isolating or even breaking the DISZ away from the Party."

Party Secretary Matyas Rakosi, another major speaker, said:

"Six or seven months ago DISZ was under a barrage opened by the right wing and rightist deviationists. The Party had to take the firmest stand for DISZ so that it might bear up against the attack. The Party made it clear to everybody that since DISZ is, as it were, its own child, the Party would not abandon it but was supporting it with all its might." (Radio Budapest, June 18)

Rakosi called on DISZ to fight for all the provisions of the March Resolution:

"The enthusiastic membership of DISZ must play an important part in remedying these faults. The matter in question is not only restoration of former work discipline, but production plans and indices must be fulfilled without fail, and whenever possible in such a way that they will result in increasing productivity, decreasing basic costs and improving quality. . . . Citizens' discipline, as well as labor and technical discipline, must be restored. In this respect young people are faced with particularly important tasks."

The current agricultural program received particular emphasis. Rakosi said:

"It is commendable that this Congress has devoted so much attention to the Socialist transformation of agriculture . . . one of the most important problems of Socialist construction . . . the most important question is, of course, the problem of kolkhozes. The greatest stress must be laid on this."



The ugly man holding a briefcase marked "The Grim One," is pointing to a wallpaper which reads: "A ZMP [Youth League] member should not: laugh, dance, enjoy himself, love, and joke."

Szpilki (Warsaw), May 29, 1955

Rakosi went on to scold the Congress, mildly enough, for neglecting the question of MTS and State farms. He called for a drive to establish a DISZ organization "in every State farm and every MTS, to help, not only by work but by the attitude of the members, to eliminate faults and launch a campaign against the squandering of communal property, against laxities, norm slackening, wage frauds and the disregard of rules, idleness and other similar harmful phenomena."

Szakali complained that "In most of our collectives there are no DISZ organs or DISZ groups; the DISZ includes only 30 percent of kolkhoz youth."

Although greatest stress was laid on DISZ's role in working toward collectivization, Rakosi added that attention must be paid to independent peasant youth as well: "This will continue to be an important question for many years to come, until the time when the majority of the independent working peasantry chooses the path of collective farming."

There was much less exhortation of DISZ for dullness than in the Czechoslovak and Polish Youth Organization Congresses earlier this year, though Rakosi did say that: "Youth is full of *joie de vivre* and eagerness. It has much surplus energy which it wants to direct into channels of education, cultural activities, dancing, singing and sports. DISZ must wisely satisfy all these requirements of youth." "The greatest force of attraction, however," he added, "is

The Bureaucrat's Beauty Parlor



No, I can't let you go like that; I'll clean you up a bit . . . and put on some make up.
Yes, now I can let you go to the Minister himself!

Przyjazn (Warsaw), June 5, 1955

work and production results."

Great attention was paid to "right-deviation" and disaffection in the schools. For example, Szakali said that:

"... the main weakness of high school DISZ organizations is that their work is often too formal. Some of them are completely absorbed by school activities, their characteristics become indistinct and their role obscure. The political education of high-school students is weak and unsystematic. In many students there are traces of scorn for physical labor. One segment of our student body is quite indifferent to politics and shows nationalist and petty-bourgeois tendencies. There are still places where clerical reaction has a certain influence. . . . There are grave mistakes in our sports life too. There are a great number of athletes with poor moral standards, materialistic, who strive for an easy life with little work and consequently fall victim to corruption . . . [and there are] frequent manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism."

More Crime, More Punishment

A new decree, published in *Nepszava* (Budapest), June 18, has abolished the legal category of misdemeanors, and increased the statutory punishments for certain crimes formerly in that category. It establishes that all offenses "will be judged either as crimes or as violations of administrative regulations."

Among the former misdemeanors now considered crimes are panhandling, unlawful gambling, "shirking work in a manner dangerous to the public," "violation of the regulations concerning police surveillance" and prostitution, the latter punishable by imprisonment up to two years. The decree also provides for imprisonment up to a year for per-

sons who "commit excesses or disturb order by . . . rowdyish manners." This sentence can be doubled if the offender has been convicted of the same crime in the previous five years.

Residential Restrictions

A new decree provides that offices, enterprises and institutions in Budapest may employ only persons who are permanent residents of the city, or who have temporary residence permits, according to *Nepszava* (Budapest), June 11. It orders "anyone living in Budapest without a valid residence permit to notify the authorities of his departure, and to leave the city within one month."

The major purpose of the decree is probably to alleviate the severe housing shortage in the capital. It may also be aimed at "politically unreliable" elements. In the May 1951 deportations, about 60,000 persons were refused residence permits in Budapest. Apparently many of these have since returned, however, and the decree may be aimed at them.

Czechoslovakia

Agriculture

On June 29-30, the Central Committee met to discuss agricultural problems, and heard a report on the subject from First Party Secretary Antonin Novotny. This report and the announced decisions of the Central Committee point to an increase in collectivization.

Novotny began with various statements of agricultural successes and increases this year. Comparing the livestock production figures for the first five months of 1955 and 1954, he said that "although the total number of cows kept was lower this year, 88,381 more calves were born." (Radio Prague, June 30). On May 31, 1955 there were allegedly 895,500 more hogs than on June 1, 1954, and it was stated that milk production in the first four months of this year was up 537,550 hectoliters over the same period of 1954.

Novotny then swung into an attack on "stagnation" in kolkhoz growth and gave the regime plans for collectiviza-

"A Staggering Figure!"

"In 1954—not counting paid vacations and maternity leaves—each industrial worker in the country was absent an average of 22 full working days. A staggering figure! It is equal to the annual working time of 40,000 workers." *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), July 10. This is equivalent, in time lost, to a month's strike by about 36 percent of the entire industrial working force.

tion: "The Second Five Year Plan [ending 1960] provides for the achievement of absolute predominance of the Socialist sector within the farming industry." Presumably this means that by 1960 the regime expects over 50 percent of the agricultural land to be in kolkhozes of types III and IV and in State farms. The present percentage is about 40 percent; the increase, therefore, although a reversal of the general decline in collectivization since 1953, is not large.

Various figures were given for the present degree of collectivization: 6,578 collectives of types III and IV, 185 of type II; 30 percent of "regionally planned" (over 2 hectares) agricultural land and 32.9 percent of arable land in type III and IV kolkhozes; type III and IV kolkhozes together with State farms comprise 36.1 percent of the agricultural and 39.2 percent of the arable land. The "Socialist sector of agriculture" delivered 41.5 percent of total grain deliveries, 56.4 percent of sugar beets, 59 percent of pork, 48.5 percent of beef and 43.3 percent of milk. Novotny added that "the high market livestock production of State farms conceals, however, the fact that the share of collectives in the delivery of meat, milk and eggs still does not on the whole correspond to their share of land."

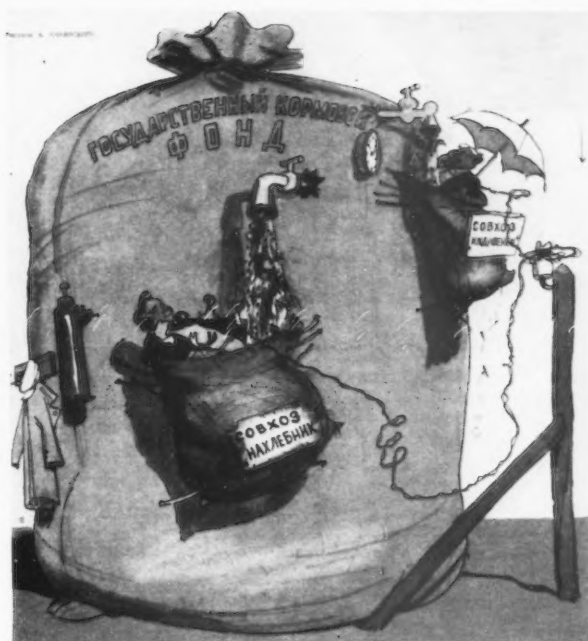
In discussing means by which the "stagnation in the numerical growth of collectives" may be overcome, both Novotny and the Central Committee decision used a tone somewhat different from that contained in the announcements on agriculture of the February CC meeting. In February, the strongest emphasis was placed on the "voluntary" aspects of collectivization; indeed, the lack of respect for the "voluntary principle" was largely blamed for the kolkhoz dissolutions in the past. In the current pronouncements, although it is stated that kolkhozes will be set up when "farmers are willing to join," the emphasis is on pressure toward collectivization involving a hardening of policy.

Novotny stated:

"The directives of the Tenth Congress cannot be implemented automatically or by mere example; they must be implemented by our own active mass political work. If we were to wait and establish collectives only in places where chances of success are sure to be 100 percent, no great progress would be made in the Socialization of agriculture. We cannot wait decades for the construction of Socialism; we wish to carry it out in the near future. We shall, therefore, embark on a systematic persuasion drive to convince smallholders and medium farmers of the necessity of joining kolkhozes and establishing new kolkhozes. . . . Immediately after the Central Committee meeting new collectives must be established. To this end we must ask regional and district Party committees to carry out a thorough analysis of the situation in villages. . . ."

The Central Committee decision began:

"The most important of these tasks is the raising of the membership of the collectives by convincing and winning over independent small and medium farmers and at the same time the consistent continued strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the working farmers. In the work ahead it is necessary to put an end to the



The large bag is marked "State Food Reserves." The two men talking have markings on their sacks for "kolkhoz parasite" and "sovkhoz profligate."

"—How are you for food?"
"—We're feeding ourselves."

Front page of *Krokodil* (Moscow), May 10, 1955

opportunistic theory of automatic and spontaneous progress in the establishment of collectives, and also to the underestimation of the class struggle in the villages."

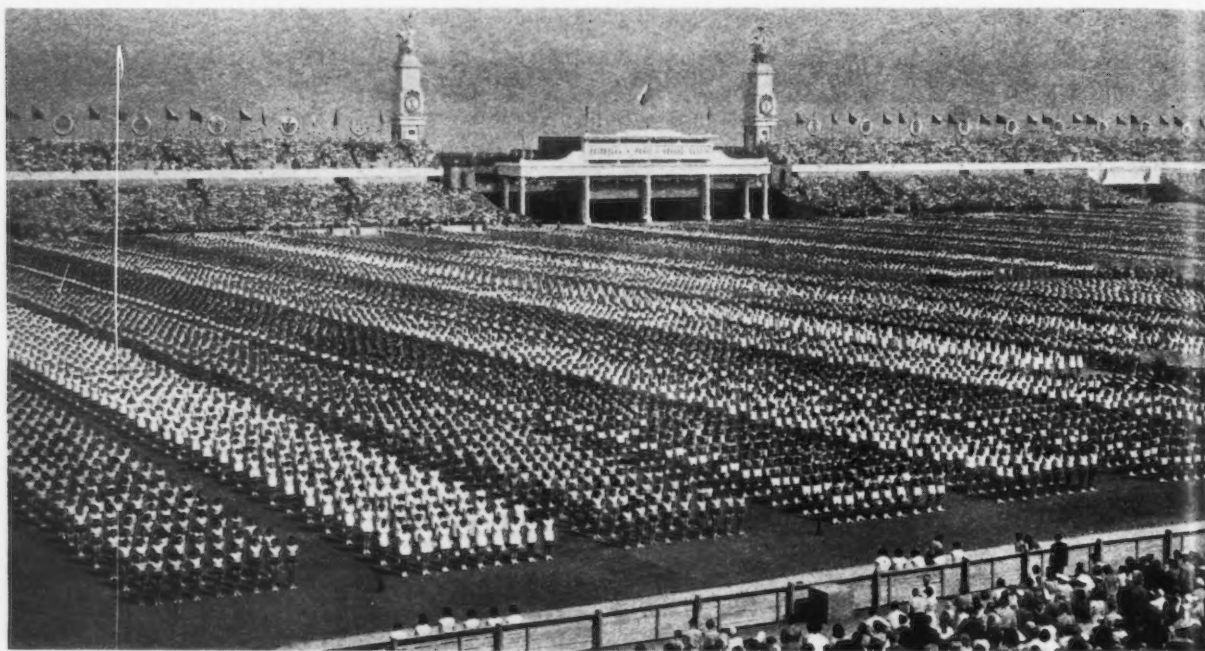
The reference to the "class struggle," and Novotny's remarks on the necessity for combatting the "hostile attitude of the kulaks, their intentional indifference with regard to production," seem to indicate that a heightened campaign against "kulaks" will be part of the push for greater collectivization.

Fallow Lands

In his remarks on present lags in agricultural production, Novotny gave great prominence to the problem of fallow lands. He stated that sowing plans for 1955 were not fulfilled, chiefly, it appears, in lands to be sown to fodder crops. The lack of fodder caused a reduction in the original livestock production target for 1955 "and this reduction to some extent effects our plans for 1956." This spring, he stated, 95,650 hectares of land were left lying fallow. An unspecified amount of this land was "handed over for cultivation to State farms, collectives and MTS." This practice, giving land not tilled by independent farmers to collectives and State farms, seems to be another method of increasing collectivization.

Manpower

The serious problem of the shortage of agricultural manpower was also raised. Novotny stated that:



"The opening on the second day was a unique spectacle. From the athletes' gates and both side gates tens of thousands of young people marched into the stadium for the symbolic mass review. Assembled here were boy and girl pupils of the sixth and eighth grades, trade union apprentices, work groups, Sokol youth. Never before did 40,000 young people march in Strahov Stadium. Great applause was heard when their arms raised the silk banners and above the spectacle of the marchers there appeared the letters CSR-USSR and the blue numbers 1945-1955." [The words on the stadium building are the slogan: Be Prepared For Work and the Defense of the Country.]

Svet V Obrazech (Prague), July 2, 1955

"The more intensive utilization of every acre of agricultural land simultaneously brings another question into the foreground—that of safeguarding the strengthening of our agriculture through new manpower. This assumes a development of a new campaign among our youth in order to gain a further 10,000 brigade workers, who can help, especially in the border areas, in the successful carrying out of the harvest and fall work. . . . Party organizations . . . have to make sure that in the coming period at least 10,000 workers living in villages be transferred permanently into agriculture and active cooperation within the collectives."

Novotny also called for 2,000 of "the staunchest Party members" to go from industry to kolkhozes, State farms and MTS. In addition, it is apparently going to be increasingly difficult for persons to leave agriculture to work in industry. Novotny said that "It is necessary for national committees and factories, in the future, to apply to an increased extent the principle that a farmer or a member of his family can leave agriculture only with the consent of the local national committee and if the fulfillment of the production plan is assured."

Spartacus Games

The Spartacus Games, demonstrations of physical education with major emphasis on mass calisthenics and gymnastic display, were held in Prague, June 23 to July 5. The games were watched by crowds numbering up to 250,000, the regime press announced.

The first week was given over to demonstrations by children and youths, members of school, trade-union and village gymnastic organizations. In his opening-day speech, President Antonin Zapotocky managed without apparent difficulty the transition from "The masses of children. . ." to "Socialist building . . . productivity increases and increase of national income . . . reduction of production costs and prices. . ." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], June 24). The children paraded to spell out with their bodies slogans of patriotism and Czechoslovak-Soviet solidarity.

The adult games began on July 2, with gymnasts from trade unions, sport and village organizations, police and army units, and *Svazarm* (Association for Cooperation with the Army). July 5, the final day, was given over to the army. Among the gymnastic displays described by

Radio Prague were "bayonet fighting and demonstrations on obstacle courses."

On the final day there was a concert for foreign visitors. It was addressed by Deputy Premier Kopecky, who told the guests that:

"We appreciate your visit because we want you to see for yourselves the conditions in our new Republic. . . . We will show you everything so that after you return to your own country you will be able to tell other people of Czech origin of the great changes which have taken place in their own homeland."

While waiting for the youth games to end and the adult games to begin, many of the performers were assigned to brigade work in the Prague area, particularly in the sugar beet fields. *Prace* (Prague), June 29, pointed out that after all:

"The gymnasts of the Labor Reserves who remain in Prague to perform . . . on Adult Days want to repay Prague for her love and hospitality. They have therefore contracted many beautiful brigade pledges. Until July 1, they will help beautify Prague, help the miners at Kladno, help State farms and kolkhozes."

Personnel

On July 8, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), announced that Josef Hojc had been released from his position of Manpower Commissioner on the Slovak Board of Commissioners. He is "being transferred to another function," it was stated. His place was taken by Josef Gajdosik, previously Commissioner of Local Economy, and there was a general reshuffling of Commissioners. A new member was appointed to the Board: Milos Hrusovsky, to be Commissioner of Light Industry.

Poland

Wroclaw Kolkhoz Congress

A Congress of Wroclaw Province Kolkhozes was held June 18-19, concurrently with celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the postwar inclusion of the whole of Silesia in Poland. Wroclaw is the most collectivized province in the country; there were slight contradictions in the various figures given in the Congress announcements and reports, but the province apparently has about 1,690 kolkhozes with approximately 50,000 members.

The major speech was given by First Party Secretary Boleslaw Bierut. Although, as expected, he stressed the importance of collectivization and the necessity for eventual Socialization "in the whole of our life, in the whole of our economy," the tone of the speech did not indicate a marked immediate increase in pressure for agricultural collectivization. Much of the address was devoted to invocations of "Socialist ideals" as contrasted with the capitalist system:

"The role of the kolkhoz movement in fostering the new man is tremendously important. There can be no new social system without the new man, without a better man than the man of the old system. What kind of man was

brought up by the capitalist system? A man who had to worry and think on his own about his own problems, about his children. The majority of people thought about themselves and their own children, but about nobody else. It was the capitalist system that created such conditions, such a morality in which man was an enemy of man. The heartless system of exploitation created selfishness. One should have in one's heart the need to care not only about oneself and one's stomach, but also about others. In order to feel this one must be a man of profound social awareness, a cultured man, a new man. . . . Kolkhozes help educate the new man. . . ." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], June 22)

Bierut gave a number of figures to show how per capita production and consumption of foodstuffs had increased since 1938. He stated, for example, that:

"Before the war, in 1938, grain production amounted to 195 kilos per capita, and in 1954 it was 228 kilos. . . . Despite all this there is a shortage of cereals and for several years now we have been importing such cereals from abroad. Before the war, Poland, despite lower [per capita] production, exported cereals. Why? Because . . . people went hungry, they did not have enough to eat, and now the people want to eat, they have a right to eat, and it is our duty to give them a chance to have enough. And what does this depend on? It depends on increasing our harvests."

It should be noted that the figures for grain production given by Bierut, if they mean what he says they mean, imply a total production for both 1938 and 1954 of about half of what we know from other sources to be the case. He may have meant total production per capita of agricultural population, which would bring the figures somewhat closer to reality, or he may have selected them arbitrarily for the occasion.

Bierut also gave figures on per capita increases in consumption of meats and animal fats (a 65 percent overall increase claimed), milk and sugar. He added that these increases are "all right" but still "not enough." Agriculture, he once again stressed, has not increased its production in step with industry: "fundamentally this increase can be achieved only through development of the collective movement."

The usual flaws in kolkhoz operation were cited. Bierut paid particular attention to the encroachment of household plots on kolkhozes, and the tendency of kolkhoz farmers to concentrate their efforts and attention on these plots and, most particularly, on their private livestock.

Political Show Trials

Two important political show trials have lately taken place. On June 28, Alfred Jaroszewicz, former Deputy Minister of Food Supply, went on trial for what were described as various prewar and postwar crimes of anti-Communist activity, subversion, political conspiracy and collaboration with the Nazis. Among the witnesses against him were Marian Spychalski who was himself arrested in 1951 but has not yet been brought to trial. Spychalski admitted appointing Jaroszewicz to his ministerial post

for anti-regime purposes. Jaroszewicz "admitted his guilt and responsibility for the many years' work in the Independent Information Bureau [the prewar Polish government's political intelligence agency] and for contributing to the growth of fascism and the 1939 debacle; he also admitted . . . contributing to political diversion by joining the People's guard and assuming the post of Deputy Minister after the liberation." (Radio Warsaw, June 30). In addition, he confessed having been a double agent of the prewar Communist and anti-Communist forces. On June 30, Jaroszewicz was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

On July 4, Włodzimierz Lechowicz went on trial for similar charges. He acknowledged having worked with Jaroszewicz in the Independent Information Bureau, but maintained that he did so under the orders and as an agent of the Communist Party. He denied having been a double agent and having collaborated with the Gestapo during the occupation. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Both these men were arrested in 1948 in the first days of the purge of Gomułka and Spychalski (see Światło's account, NBIC, March 1955, p. 15) and were then accused of the same charges brought forth in the trials. Considering the seriousness of those charges the sentences were relatively light.

The trial of these men, after so many years, seems to be part of a general cleaning up of long-pending cases from the era of the Gomułka purge. There have as yet been no indications that Gomułka and Spychalski themselves are finally to come to trial, although Spychalski's recent appearance as a self-incriminating witness may presage his imminent trial. There have also been unsubstantiated reports that Gomułka has been released from prison. A number of trials of less major figures have been finally held, however. The Światło revelations apparently provided the impetus for this belated settlement of old affairs, as it did for the reorganization of the internal security apparatus. These steps are apparently designed to counter Światło's charges of extreme cruelty, inefficiency and corruption in the administration of law. A new criminal and civil code is now under preparation, and it is expected that the election of judges, provided for by the 1952 constitution but so far ignored, will shortly be held.

It is probable that the major significance of the two recent trials lies in their being part of this general cleanup of holdovers from the period of Stalinist purges. Since both Jaroszewicz and Lechowicz were connected with "national Communism," however, it is also possible that their trial at this time was partially intended as a warning to any Polish Communists who might be tempted to consider the Soviet rapprochement with Tito as a sign that such sentiments are now to be tolerated.

Construction Premiums Changed

Effective July 1, a new system of pay premiums for engineers, mechanics and administrative personnel in the construction industry came into force, according to *Głos*

Pracy (Warsaw), June 30. Previously, premiums were based on fulfillment of the financial plan. The new system awards premiums on the fulfillment of the work plan and at least 80 percent fulfillment of the financial plan. There are also clauses penalizing poor quality work and overpayment of the wage fund.

The new system is presumably to give added incentive to construction workers and to reduce the amount of slipshod or over-expensive building. There is still an acute housing shortage throughout the country. *Trybuna Wolności* (Warsaw), July 4, discussing the recent rise in unemployment, stated that 34,000 unemployed are registered in the country's labor offices, including 4,500 qualified workers. It adds that the unemployed could find jobs in the villages if it were not for the acute housing shortage in the provinces.

"Progressive Catholic" Quandary

The Roman Catholic Church has condemned and placed upon the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* the "progressive Catholic" weekly *Dzis i Jutro* and a book by Bolesław Piasecki, one of the periodical's editors, entitled *Essential Problems*, according to *Osservatore Romano* (Rome), June 28. The "progressive Catholic" movement attempts to remain within the Church while being whole-hearted supporters of the Communist regime. *Osservatore Romano* stated:

"While Cardinal Wyszyński and other Polish bishops are in prison, or are impeded in the exercise of their Episcopal office, we are witnessing an unspeakable attempt to palm off the regime Communists as respectful of the liberty of the Catholic Church. . . . The author [Piasecki], after having been for a short time in Communist prisons, now has made himself the defender of a perfect agreement between Catholics and Communists in the political-social field, but in reality he is a promoter of the total surrender of Catholics to Communism."

The official condemnation of "progressive Catholic" doctrine will undoubtedly put its proponents in an uncomfortable doctrinal position. Their claim that there is no fundamental logical or theological contradiction between Communism and Catholicism will require even greater feats of semantic prestidigitation than in the past.

"Sea Days"

June 16 to 26 were celebrated in Poland as "Sea Days," dedicated to the Polish navy and merchant marine. They were marked by a visit to Polish ports of the British cruiser *Glasgow*, the first postwar visit of any British naval unit to the Soviet bloc.

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), June 26, stated that "Poland's merchant navy increased its tonnage three and a half times over the prewar fleet; its freight transport five times." Polish shipyards have grown considerably, it was stated, and construction on a large (10,000 ton) ship has been started. The fishing fleet last year caught 100,000 tons; per capita fish consumption has increased from 2.87 kilos per year before the war to 4.06 kilos.

On June 26, elements of the navy paraded in Gdynia.

The parade was reviewed by the newly-appointed naval chief, Rear Admiral Zdzislaw Studzinski, the first Pole to hold this post since 1950, when leading positions in the armed forces were taken over by Russians.

Romania

Amnesty

An amnesty on all crimes except murder for all Romanian citizens and former citizens now living abroad was announced by Radio Bucharest, June 25. Former citizens who have lost their citizenship will automatically have it restored if they return before August 23, 1956. This measure follows the Hungarian amnesty in April and the Czechoslovak one in May. It is much more sweeping than those, however, excluding no political crimes. There was no mention of amnesties for prisoners now serving sentences inside the country.

French Charges Denied

The regime has replied to the charges that French citizens are still being illegally imprisoned, for which reason France suspended exports to Romania on June 19. On June 21, Agerpress, the Romanian news agency, stated that "no French citizens are imprisoned in Romania merely because they are French citizens," but because they are French intelligence agents. The French government was also accused of tolerating "provocative acts" during the Paris tour of Romanian musicians.

New Land Tax System

The method of agricultural taxation has been changed for collective farms and simple associations, to encourage collectivization, according to *Scinteia* (Bucharest), June 22. The new system provides for a fixed tax on each hectare of land, rather than, as was previously the case for all farms and as still applies to independent farms, a percentage of income. The new tax varies from 30 to 50 lei per hectare, and may be increased or decreased up to 20 percent by the district People's Councils, depending on local conditions.

Bulgaria

Agricultural Conferences

Continuing the drive for a marked improvement in agriculture after Premier Chervenkov's admissions of agricultural failure in February, the regime has held a series of conferences for various types of farmers. The first, "A conference of leading cotton growers of the country, convened by the [Party] Central Committee and the Council of Ministers," opened on May 30, according to Radio Sofia of that date. Premier Chervenkov was present, together with high Party and government officials. The conference issued an "appeal to cotton growers of the country, calling upon them to make persistent efforts to increase the output of cotton." The appeal stipulated the minimum acceptable yields for each district, ranging from 65 kilos per decare to 130 kilos. In his February speech Chervenkov had complained that in some areas cotton yield was as low as 12 kilos per decare.

On June 1, a conference of corn growers was held. Premier Chervenkov was present, again with high Party and government officials. In the main speech, after praising the role of Bulgarian women in corn growing and complaining that there were not enough women at the conference, Chervenkov said:

"There is not sufficient corn. It is insufficient for human needs, for fodder, and for raw material in industry. We cannot consider the planned 1955 corn yields as sufficient. We have convened here to determine why the sowing of corn has lately decreased in our country, why we underrate corn. . . ." (Radio Sofia, June 1)

He repeated his demand for an average corn yield of 200 kilos per decare, and called on all elements of the people, Party and government to overcome the lag in agriculture.

A sugar beet conference was convened on June 8. Chervenkov was not present, but Minister of Agriculture Todorov made an appeal for unconditional fulfillment of planned yields in every district.

On June 11, a tobacco growers' conference was held. Premier Chervenkov was present, together with high Party and government officials. Speakers stressed the importance of tobacco in the Bulgarian economy as a major item of export, of which it comprises over one-fourth. The conference addressed an appeal to all tobacco growers, setting forth minimum 1955 yields, varying from 68 to 130 kilos per decare. These seem extremely high; in his February speech Chervenkov said that "in 1954 the average tobacco yield per decare was 50-60 kilos." (*Otechestven Front* [Sofia], February 17).

Baltics

Baltic Agricultural Conference

A conference of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian agricultural workers and specialists was held in Riga, June 14-16. In addition to hearing criticism and self-criticism from Baltic regime and Party officials, the conference listened to attacks on widespread failures in Baltic agriculture and stockbreeding by Nikita Khrushchev, USSR First Party Secretary, and P. P. Lobanov, USSR Deputy Premier. The fact that the occasion was the first visit by a USSR First Party Secretary to the Baltics underlined the importance and seriousness of the charges. Also present from Moscow were the USSR Minister of State Farms, Benediktov, the USSR Minister of Procurement, Korniets, the USSR Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Katshevich, and the President of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agriculture, Lysenko.

Khrushchev praised the successes attained elsewhere in the USSR in the program of increasing corn culture and raising the livestock population (16.8 million hectares of corn were sown this year, he stated, 13 million hectares more than in 1954; milk production and procurement rose sharply), but deplored the failure of the Baltics to carry out the program. Corn is not a traditional Baltic crop, and there has apparently been considerable resistance to the plan to introduce it on a large scale. The 1955 Plan for Latvia,



Title: "A Visit from the Representatives of the Agricultural Administration."

Caption: "I told you it wasn't a cow!"

The running bureaucrat has dropped "A Handbook of Domestic Animals" with pictures marked "sheep" and "cow."

Krokodil (Moscow), April 20, 1955

for example, calls for approximately ten percent of the arable land sown to corn. Khrushchev said:

"In this connection I want to address a few critical remarks to some of your leaders. What is happening? Soviet organs make decisions on raising corn, and workers often discuss corn, but many collective and State farms continue by force of habit to sow crops producing low yields. This means that such leaders themselves do not yet believe in corn and do not insist on its introduction in all collective and State farms. The force of habit is a powerful force, but some habits should be sternly discarded." (Radio Riga, June 17)

Before the war and Soviet annexation of the Baltics, the area was outstanding for its livestock. After the war there was a notable decline in livestock, although Latvia and Estonia have the first and second highest milk yields among the Soviet Union's Republics. Nevertheless, Khrushchev complained that "recently a lowering of milk yields has been tolerated on collective farms in the Baltic Republics." Hog breeding "in a number of *rayons* is badly organized; this is explained by the fact that on many collective farms there is no individual responsibility for the care of livestock and normal feeding is not assured."

Although he discussed agricultural failings in detail and at length, Khrushchev's tone was that of moderate reasonableness. He stressed the necessity for persuasion and guidance, and was careful to point out that by increasing corn crops "collective farms can insure fodder not only for communal stock-breeding but also for the private cattle of collective farmers."

Criticism of Kolkhozes

The organization and management of collective and State farms were sharply criticized. Apparently the old problem of unconsolidated kolkhozes is still plaguing the area. Khrushchev said that:

"... farms were created which did not have a great amount of land, but land dispersed in various places in

small plots, on which collective farmers live in isolation, in farmsteads. Administration of such collective farms is difficult. One must ponder this problem and approach it sensibly. Where necessary, such farms must be divided."

Khrushchev scored the inefficiency of State farms:

"State farms have very high production costs. The production of 1 centner [100 kilos] of grain on Lithuanian State farms costs 89 rubles, on Latvian farms 87 rubles, and on Estonian farms 107 rubles. And yet from the State they receive fodder grain at a price of 40-64 rubles per centner. Under such circumstances the directors of State farms are not interested in having their own grain. The more of their own grain they have, the costlier the produce will be. It is time that a decisive end was put to such an abnormal state of affairs."

Lobanov's speech dwelt largely on the necessity of achieving the agricultural goals set forth by the USSR Party Plenum in January. For the Baltics, the Plenum called for a sharp increase in hog breeding and milk production. Lobanov said:

"The January Plenum has entrusted the Baltic Republics with a great and honorable task. . . . Cattle breeding is the chief agricultural branch in the Baltics . . . conditions for hog breeding are outstanding. But since this branch has not been given proper attention, total meat production from hogs has decreased in recent years. As a result of unproductive activities and high production costs the general level of production and income remain low." (Radio Riga, June 15)

Lobanov announced that various steps will be taken to remedy the weaknesses of Baltic agriculture. Among these are higher pay for kolkhoz farmers, higher delivery quotas, and greater MTS help to collective farms.

Albania

Personnel

Deputy Premier Tuk Jakova and Minister of Education Bedri Spahiu have been dismissed "for incompetence," Radio Tirana announced on June 24. Jakova's place will be filled by Koco Theodosi, former Minister of Industry and Mines. Spahiu's post has been given to Ramiz Alija. Adil Carcani has been named Minister of Industry and Mines.

This is the second and more important change in the Council of Ministers in a month (see NBIC, July 1955, p. 56). Tuk Jakova has been a major regime figure since his election to the Assembly in 1945. He was made Minister without Portfolio in March 1946, and a year later appointed Minister to Yugoslavia. After the Yugoslav break he held various ministerial posts, was Second Secretary of the Party, and was appointed Deputy Premier in November 1948. Jakova was the only Catholic holding high rank in the Albanian regime.

Spahiu was an officer in the prewar army, from which he was dismissed on accusations of Communist activity. He was active in the resistance during the war, and was afterwards Public Prosecutor. In March 1949 he replaced Xoxe as Vice President of the Presidium of the Assembly.

Recent and Related

One Man in his Time, by N. M. Borodin (*Macmillan: \$4.50*). This autobiography of a Soviet scientist—a Cossack born in the Don region in 1905—is also a biography of the birth and maturation of Sovietism in Russia. Borodin's youth coincided with the Revolution, the Civil War, and the devastating postwar famine; he trained as a microbiologist and was appointed to a high post at a scientific institute in the Ukraine. Dedicated to his profession and not politically minded, he was nonetheless sympathetic to the regime and worked as an agent for the Secret Police. During the war he became a member of the Party, and in 1946 was sent by the regime to England to study mass production of penicillin. After two years of life in the free world, he renounced his Soviet citizenship and is now in the West, working in his own field, under another name. An informative story told with temperance and candor.

An American Policy in Asia, by W. W. Rostow (*Wiley: \$1.00*). A sequel to *The Prospects for Communist China*, this slim book is Mr. Rostow's plea for "a more orderly vision" of our aims and responsibilities in Asia. He believes that Asia is composed of "distinctive societies," but is primarily concerned with the areas "common problems" and "common foundations." He also attempts to set up broad outlines of American response such as "an enlarged . . . investment program in Free Asia," and warns that we must prepare to "sustain steadily the actions we undertake." He states his belief in the importance of admitting Red China to the UN as a gesture of strength, discusses the problems of the overseas Chinese and Formosa and feels that "the political and ideological threat of Communist China to Free Asia has its direct counterpart in the threat of Free Asia to Communist China." Chronology and map.

Revolt of the Sinners, by Ugo Zatterin (*Appleton-Century-Crofts: \$3.00*). A first novel by an Italian journalist describing the "coming-of-age" of an idealistic young Party worker of the upper-middle class. After the war he is assigned to organize one of the toughest sections of Rome and comes to realize that "you're still yourself wherever you are." Neither his intellectual or emotional development is particularly convincing.

National Minorities, An International Problem, by Inis L. Claude, Jr. (*Harvard: \$4.50*). Examining the problem of national minorities as a "facet of the general problem of international order," Mr. Claude outlines world opinion and treatment of the question with particular emphasis on the League of Nations, World War II, and the postwar era. He finds that the approach to a solution has changed radically from the prewar emphasis on international regulation of minorities based on the assumption that reconciliation between national minorities and national States was possible. Present attempts to find a solution lean toward population transfer, and the idea of human rights as applied to all individuals, leading to eventual assimilation. Notes and index.

Crusade In Asia, by Carlos P. Romulo (*Day: \$4.00*). An inspiring and optimistic informal history, told in the first person, of the Philippine struggle against internal Communism. General Romulo is convinced that democracy can triumph in Asia. He writes of the chaos within his own country after its emergence as an independent nation in 1946, and its slide into the trough of political corruption and public despair. Huk violence and popular lack of faith in the government were halted only by the emergence of a policy of political vision backed by military strength which won the Huks with friendship, understanding and offers of amnesty, citizenship and jobs. To Romulo, the pattern that worked in the Philippines will work anywhere in Asia if the people are inspired by democratic faith and example. Appendices.

Face of a Victim, by Elizabeth Lermolo (*Harper: \$3.75*). An account of the author's eight years of imprisonment in the Soviet Union beginning in 1934. The writer's experiences in a series of Russian "political isolators" are recounted in a straightforward and undramatic manner, in contrast to the horror of the events she describes. Mrs. Lermolo's "crime" was being the wife of a former Czarist officer, refusing to become an informer and being a casual acquaintance of the man whose shot killed Kirov. Her talks with fellow prisoners and the gradual piecing together of her own story give insight into the methods and conflicts of the Kremlin during this period.

World History Since 1914, by David Thomson (*Oxford: \$1.00*). Interdependence of the areas of the world as it has developed within the last fifty years is to Dr. Thomson the central theme of world history today. He attempts to explain its development and major consequences by studying "material conditions, ideas and emotions, influential personalities and momentous events" not in terms of a series of histories of individual countries or areas, but to show "a flow of movement between continents" which proves not only that "true world history is, of necessity, recent history . . . recent history can be adequately studied only as world history." Bibliographical note and index.

Chiang Kai-Shek, by Emily Hahn (*Doubleday: \$5.00*). In this unauthorized biography, on which the Generalissimo "did not cooperate," Miss Hahn draws a sympathetic picture of a complicated man who, she feels, has never been understood by his "allies." She traces his rise through the maze of Chinese politics from 1887 to the present, giving comments, explanations and anecdotes. She finds that much of the coldness of the foreign press, the British and such men as Stilwell was the result of a lack of understanding of "a Confucian gentleman . . . [with] a poker face," who, in his present position on Formosa, "is so obstinate he won't even stop hoping." Bibliography and index.

Report From Malaya, by Vernon Bartlett (*Criterion: \$2.75*). Admitting his book was written "after only two very brief visits" to Malaya, and that his judgments are based not on his own "small experience," but on the opinions of those he met, Mr. Bartlett reports on the Malayan struggle with perhaps too much eagerness to defend the policies of Great Britain in that country, and to force the idea that "there is no 'British imperialist rule' . . . unless a slightly paternal attitude in the efforts to pass on the standards of Western democracy to Eastern races can be called imperialism." Mr. Bartlett feels that getting people to help themselves is uphill work since "they would rather starve . . . because their wish for leisure is even stronger than their wish for food," but he does not attempt to search for positive solutions to the problems which face them.



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